Traditions are fading faster than they can be remembered - yet some voices still echo with the power of history. The Mangghuer: Life, Culture, Bridal Lamentations, & Wedding Songs preserves those echoes: the intimate, poetic bridal lamentations and wedding songs of the Mangghuer (Sanchuan Tu) people, a unique Mongolic-speaking community on the upper Yellow River. Once essential to every wedding, these performances have become increasingly rare as social customs shift and younger generations lose fluency in their ancestral language.

This book is the culmination of years of immersive fieldwork and heartfelt community collaboration. It documents endangered ceremony songs with detailed linguistic glosses, Modern Chinese and English translations, and vivid explanations of the cultural roles they once played. Through stories, sound, and scholarly insight, readers witness the resilience of Mangghuer identity — expressed through the voices of brides at a moment of profound transition.

Both an irreplaceable cultural record and a passionate call for preservation, The Mangghuer: Life, Culture, Bridal Lamentations, & Wedding Songs contributes significantly to the study of minority languages and intangible cultural heritage. It will resonate with linguists, anthropologists, musicologists, and all who care about the beauty and survival of the world's diverse cultural voices.

在传统消逝的速度远超世人记忆留存能力的当下，仍有一些声音承载着历史的回响，绵延不绝。《最后的三川土人：濒危的三川土族文化、语言与婚礼歌》便是对这份回响的珍贵定格：世居黄河上游的一个独特的蒙古语族语言使用群体 —— "三川土人" 的婚礼仪式上，主宾双方或高亢或哀婉的敬酒歌与新娘吟唱的充满忧伤和诗意的哭嫁歌，曾是这个族群婚礼中不可或缺的古老印记。然而，随着时代的变迁、社会的转型，以及年轻一代母语能力的衰退，这些镌刻着族群记忆的习俗正在急速消逝。

这部著作是作者多年扎根社区、深耕田野调查的结晶。书中收录了多首濒危的哭嫁歌与婚礼歌，辅以详尽的语言学注释及中英双语译文，并以严谨、生动的笔触阐释了其背后的文化意涵。作者通过田野叙事、民歌文本与学术解析，引领读者走进三川土人的精神世界：新娘在人生转型的重要时刻，以凄婉的歌声诉说对亲情的眷恋、对未来处境的忧思，以及对全族老小的祈愿；婚礼主家与宾客则通过歌声传递对彼此的敬意与祝福，构建起族群的情感共同体。

这既是一部不可替代的文化档案，也是一声保护濒临消逝的文化与语言的深情呼吁，在少数民族语言研究与非物质文化遗产保护领域作出了重要贡献，为语言学家、人类学家、音乐学家提供了珍贵的研究资料，同时也能让每一位关注世界多元文化之美及其存续的读者感受到文化传承的迫切与力量。

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THE MANGGHUER: LIFE, CULTURE, BRIDAL LAMENTATIONS, & WEDDING SONGS

最后的三川土人：濒危的三川土族文化、语言与婚礼歌

Wen Xiangcheng

文祥呈

AHP 67

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Asian Highlands Perspectives

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COVERS: Front: Mangghuer woman in traditional costume, created by Wen Xiangcheng based on black-and-white photographs of Mangghuer women taken by Zhuang Xueben in Sanchuan in 1937. Back: Traditional Mangghuer embroidery.

EDITORS
Tshe dbang rdo rje ཚེ་དབང་རྡོ་རྗེ། and Rin chen rdo rje རིན་ཆེན་རྡོ་རྗེ།

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This study provides a window on many aspects of Mangghuer culture, through the lens of singing performances in traditional weddings. Drawing on field work in the Mangghuer community over an entire generation, Wen Xiangcheng provides insights about how traditional rituals were conducted and what their significance was in community life; he also shows how these ritual events have evolved in the last 25 years. The songs on which the study is based are transcribed from performances by cultural insiders, and provide not only insights about culture but also invaluable facts about the Mangghuer language and its use in these forms of oral literature.

本书以传统婚礼中的歌唱表演为窗口，生动而细腻地呈现了三川土族文化的诸多层面。文祥呈基于其在三川土族地区进行的长达一代人的田野调查，凭借深厚的学术造诣与丰富的文化理解，深入剖析了传统仪式的举办方式在社群生活中的意义和价值，并清晰勾勒出这些仪式活动近 25 年来的演变轨迹。本研究所依据的歌曲均来自族群内部成员的实际演唱，不仅为我们解读三川土族文化提供了独特的观察视角，更为考察三川土族语言及其在口头文学中的具体运用，留存了极为珍贵的语言样本。

Keith W. Slater, University of North Dakota

This is an impressive, detailed, and thorough study of marriage ritual and song which greatly expands our linguistic and cultural understanding of the Mangghuer.

本书对婚姻仪式与婚礼歌谣展开了详尽且深入的研究，极大地拓展了我们对三川土族语言与文化的认知，其学术价值极具分量。

Keith Dede, Lewis and Clark College

As a Mongghul reader, I am deeply moved by Wen Xiangcheng's ethnography, *The Mangghuer: Life, Culture, Bridal Lamentations, and Wedding Songs*. Its meticulous documentation of our (Mongghul's) "close relatives'" intricate social customs, from traditional marriage patterns to shifts in

their language, preserves a cultural depth that modernization threatens to extinguish.

Wen's study offers a compelling model for how ordinary people in rural communities can conduct ethnography. As a reflective, methodical, and self-aware insider, Wen demonstrates that ethnography need not always start in universities or abroad. It can begin at home with familiar cultural experiences and memories. Wen's research is especially relevant for those raised in rural China, particularly in counties and villages shaped by long histories of migration, ritual, and multilingual contact, through its serious, respectful, and curious observation of culture.

A major strength of this book is its clear focus as a model. One of the cultural practices Wen identifies, bridal lamentations, was disappearing. Wen asks what they reveal about gender, family, and identity among the Mangghuer. This classic ethnographic approach uses a seemingly small cultural act as a window into broader social patterns. There is much to learn from this method. Students do not need to look for grand topics or national "heritage" to study their communities. Instead, they can start with everyday activities like food preparation, seasonal work, courtyard gatherings, funerals, festivals, clothing, housing, and rites of passage, and ask what these activities reveal about values, shared knowledge, and emotional aspects of daily life.

Wen interviews older women, participates in ceremonies, documents performances, and listens to family members and stories, showing that ethnographic research depends on relationships. Wen views culture as something lived, not just a museum artifact. This approach is especially relatable for students from rural backgrounds, whose grandparents, parents, and other elders in their communities carry memory and tradition. Interviewing elders about how weddings, funerals, harvests, house-building, and similar events were traditionally carried out is both historical reconstruction and cultural preservation, illustrating that Wen's work is rooted in observation, dialogue, and listening.

Sensitivity to change is also modeled. Wen documents what Mangghuer weddings "used to be" and how and why these practices have transformed in the last few decades under the influence of public education, state policy, urban migration, tourism, and digital media. This attitude toward change is useful. Some potential ethnographers may feel their home communities are "not traditional enough" or "already modernized," and thus not worth studying. Wen shows that what disappears, what survives, what adapts, and what young people feel embarrassed about are all cultural facts worth analyzing: modernization is an ethnographic topic by itself. Rural communities are shaped by the same forces that change cities, only in different ways and at different speeds. They are not outside history.

Linguistic observation is another aspect of *The Mangghuer* that students can explore. It looks at how vocabulary changes across generations and how gendered speech practices preserve archaic terms. The author does not romanticize "old language." Students might be bilingual or trilingual in local Chinese dialects, and possibly Tibetan, Salar, Mongolian, Mongghul, or other languages. Wen demonstrates that language is a means of communication and a record of cultural identity and contact. Students could examine how children speak differently from grandparents by considering how nine years of compulsory education, phone apps, and social media introduce new vocabulary, and how rituals create novel speech forms in daily life.

Another valuable aspect of Wen's book as a model is its balance between affection and analysis. His writing is motivated by love for his culture, yet he observes without nostalgia. He is honest about the pressures weakening cultural continuity, but he does not blame or judge. This balanced tone is rare and difficult to achieve, but it offers students a lesson. Ethnography is most meaningful when it neither idealizes nor dismisses the community it describes.

The Mangghuer is an ethnographic project that encourages people to carefully examine their own communities,

notice details that once seemed minor, and record practices before they quietly disappear. In rural China, where modernization and migration continue to swiftly reshape life, such ethnographic work is both academic and a cultural responsibility.

Finally, Wen's book teaches that rural communities deserve to be documented by their own members. Local knowledge feels too ordinary or too close to be scholarly for many rural students. Wen proves the opposite. Closeness can be an advantage, providing access, trust, and emotional understanding that outsiders rarely achieve. When students study their own homes, they strengthen their ability to see value where others may see decline or disappearance.

作为一名土族语 Mongghul 方言区的读者，我被文祥呈的民族志著作《最后的三川土人：濒危的三川土族文化、语言与婚礼歌》深深打动。书中细致记录了我们 Mongghul 土族人的“近亲族群”——三川土族 Mangghuer 丰富多元的文化遗产：从传统婚姻模式到语言变迁，为现代化浪潮下日渐式微的传统习俗留存了珍贵印记。

文祥呈的著作为乡村社群中的文化研究者们提供了一套极具说服力的民族志研究范式。他以“局内人”的身份执笔，同时兼具反思精神、自觉意识与严谨的条理性。他的研究充分证明，民族志研究并非必须发轫于高等学府或立足于本土文化圈之外，而是可以始于故土，源于那些看似习以为常的文化经验与记忆。对于具有乡村背景的研究者而言，尤其是成长于历经漫长迁徙、仪式传统深厚、多语言交融的县域村落的群体，文祥呈的研究向他们示范了如何以严谨、尊重且充满探究意识的态度，去审视自身所属族群的文化。

这部著作的核心价值之一，在于其清晰的范本导向。文祥呈从诸多本土文化实践中，锁定了“新娘哭嫁歌”这一濒临消逝的传统习俗，继而围绕这一文化现象，探究其背后所折射的三川土族的性别观念、家庭结构与身份认同。这种以一个看似细微的文化行为作为窗口，去窥探更为广阔的宏观社会格局的研究路径，堪称民族志的经典范式，极具借鉴意义。文化研究者们可以从中习得这一研究方法：开展本土社群研究，无需执着于宏大议题或

这部著作作为研究典范的另一宝贵特质，在于情感与分析的平衡。文祥呈的研究源于对本民族文化的热爱，但他的写作并未陷入怀旧情结，更未带半点怀旧滤镜。他坦诚地剖析了削弱文化延续性的各种压力因素，却不加以指责或评判。这种不偏不倚的基调实属难得，也为其他研究者们上了生动的一课：民族志研究的核心意义，在于既不美化、也不贬低所描述的社群。

《最后的三川土人》既是一部严谨的民族志研究成果，也是一份恳切的邀约，鼓励人们认真审视自身所处的社群，留意那些曾被忽视的细微之处，并在这些习俗悄然消逝之前加以记录。在中国乡村，现代化与人口迁徙仍在迅速重塑人们的生活形态，这类民族志研究早已超越了学术范畴，更是一种沉甸甸的文化责任。

最终，文祥呈的著作传递出这样一个理念：乡村社群的文化，理应由其本土成员来记录。对许多拥有乡村背景的文化研究者而言，本土知识往往因过于寻常、过于贴近生活，而被认为缺乏学术价值。文祥呈的研究恰恰证明了相反的事实：这种“贴近性”实则是一种优势，它能赋予本土研究者得天独厚的接触机会、社群信任基础，以及外人难以企及的情感共鸣。当研究者们以自己的故土为研究对象时，他们便能在他人眼中的“衰落”与“消亡”之处，发现其内在独特的文化价值。

Ha Mingzong 哈明宗, Charles University

The Mangghuer: Life, Culture, Bridal Lamentations, and Wedding Songs is a remarkable cultural treasure for both local and international readers, offering reassurance by showing that someone is interested in and working to preserve Mangghuer culture in 2025. Wen Xiangcheng provides readers with an updated study of the history, culture, clothing, embroidery, language, complex religion, daily life, and more of the Minhe Mangghuer (Tu). Included are comments on Russian explorer Grigorij Nikolaevich Potanin (1835-1920), Chinese photographer Zhuang Xueben (1909-1984), Finnish scholar Aila Pullinen's (2015) research on Mangghuer embroidery, and the rapidly changing Mangghuer cultural scene, which includes detailed descriptions of bridal lamentations and wedding songs that resemble those among the Huzhu Mongghul.

Juha Janhunen's comment in the Preface is particularly relevant: "Ultimately, the future of Mangghuer as a living language remains in the hands of the Mangghuer themselves," which is true for the Mangghuer and all Monguor.

《最后的三川土人：濒危的三川土族文化、语言与婚礼歌》无论对本土读者还是国际读者而言，都是一部珍贵的文化与学术文本——它向人们传递了一份慰藉，表明在 2025 年，仍有学者持续关注并致力于濒危土族文化的保护与传承。文祥呈为读者呈献了其关于民和三川土族历史、文化、服饰、刺绣、语言、复杂的宗教信仰及日常生活等各个层面的最新学术成果。书中不仅梳理了俄罗斯探险家格里戈里·尼古拉耶维奇·波塔宁（1835-1920）、中国纪实摄影大师庄学本（1909-1984）等人关于三川土人的文献记载，整合了芬兰学者艾拉·普莱宁针对三川土族刺绣的研究，更以客观、审慎的视角描绘了社会转型背景下正在急剧变迁的土族文化样貌。其中，对三川土族新娘哭嫁歌与婚礼歌的详细记述和深度解读尤为珍贵。这些歌谣与互助土族的歌谣在文化内核与表现形式上存在共通性，为土族内部文化同源性及地域差异性研究提供了重要的实证参照。

Juha Janhunen 在该书序言中的评论则十分中肯：“归根结底，三川土族语能否作为一门活态语言延续下去，其最终命运仍掌握在三川土族人民自己手中。”这句话不仅精准契合三川土族的语言存续现状，也适用于所有土族群体的语言与文化传承事业。

Limusishiden (Li Dechun 李得春),
Qinghai University Affiliated Hospital

Wen Xiangcheng brings to life the voices, memories, and performances of Mangghuer as they live and have lived, and as they sang their sorrows and hopes at weddings. Filled with vivid stories, songs, and images, the book reveals a world where tradition is beautiful, fragile, and rapidly changing. A rare and extremely valuable study of a vanishing cultural landscape.

文祥呈生动呈现了三川土族民众当下及过往的声音、记忆与实践样态，清晰还原了他们在婚礼场景中吟唱悲戚与希冀的真实图景。书中收录了大量鲜活的故事、歌谣及影像资料，深刻揭示了一个传统既瑰丽多姿、又脆弱易损且正经历急剧变迁的文化世界，是一项针对这片日渐消逝的文化图景所开展的罕见且极具学术价值的研究成果。

Zhu Yongzhong 朱永忠,
Zhujiaola, Zhongchuan 中川乡朱交拉人

This richly documented study examines Mangghuer culture, including religion, taboos, landscape, language, and bridal lamentations and wedding songs as vehicles of emotion, ritual, and linguistic artistry, set within the broader social history of Sanchuan. Drawing on recordings, photographs, sketches, and fieldwork, it offers one of the first in-depth linguistic and cultural analyses of these endangered genres. A critical contribution to Chinese minority ethnography, oral literature, and Mongolic language studies.

本书作为一部文献翔实的民族志著作，系统探讨了三川土族文化的核心维度，具体涵盖宗教信仰、禁忌体系、地域风貌、语言特征，以及作为情感表达、仪式载体与语言艺术典范的哭嫁歌和婚礼歌，其研究语境植根于三川地区更为宏大的社会历史框架之内。该民族志以实地采集的录音、照片、手绘图及田野调查成果为核心支撑，首次对这些濒危文化体裁展开了深入的语言层面与文化层面的系统性分析，填补了相关研究领域的空白，是中国少数民族民族志、口头文学研究及蒙古语族语言研究领域的一项关键性贡献。

Wang Xianzhen 王献珍,
Qinghai University Affiliated Hospital

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INTRODUCTION

A week before my older sister Wen Lan's (b. 1972) wedding in the winter of 1996, I applied for a leave of absence from Qinghai Commercial School in Xining City, the capital of Qinghai Province, where I attended classes. My request was granted, so I took a bus to Wenjia Village, Zhongchuan Township, Minhe County, and reached my village home six hours later.

According to Mangghuer[1] (Monguor, Tu) tradition, brides were expected to master cooking, needlework, cloth shoemaking, agricultural tasks (seeding, weeding, harvesting, and grain processing), and the performance of bridal lamentations. Most Mangghuer women born in the early 1970s and earlier never attended school and were illiterate, which allowed them ample time to acquire these skills from a young age.

However, my sister attended senior middle school locally before her wedding and thus missed the opportunity to learn many of the traditional skills expected of a Mangghuer bride. This was especially challenging for her when it came to learning the bridal lamentations, which were essential to a traditional Mangghuer wedding.

If a Mangghuer bride had not adequately prepared for her wedding, the needlework required for the wedding was done by her mother or female relatives, but the bride herself had to perform the bridal lamentations. Therefore, in the month leading up to my sister's wedding, my aunts visited our home every evening to teach her how to perform the lamentations properly.

As a child, I often heard bridal lamentations at weddings, but all I registered was their sorrowful tone; I paid

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[1] "Mangghuer" refers to people classified as Tu in the Sanchuan area and the language they speak. I do not use "Mangghuer" to refer to people not officially classified as Tu, e.g., certain local Hui Muslims and Han Chinese who speak Mangghuer fluently, and other groups of Tu, e.g., the Mongghul (Tu) of Huzhu Tu Autonomous County, Qinghai Province.

little attention to the lyrics. I realized the distinctiveness of the lamentations as my illiterate aunts instructed my sister, who was proficient in reading and writing Chinese but found learning the different lamentations to be sung in Mangghuer to various guests to be challenging. Many terms and expressions used in the lamentations were not common in daily communication, especially among men, who never used these terms and expressions. Bridal lamentations were characterized by language exclusively used by Mangghuer women. I also realized that archaic language was used in bridal lamentations because the wedding attendees would judge how accurately the bride repeated the time-honored verses they were familiar with.

At that time, due to the lack of internet access and the difficulty of obtaining relevant information, I believed that performing bridal lamentations was a tradition unique to the Mangghuer in the Sanchuan area. Later, I learned that many other ethnic groups in China, such as the Han, Tujia, Mongolian, Tibetan, Yi, Zhuang, Salar (Sala),[2] Gelao, Hani, and various peoples outside China had similar traditions.

Bridal lamentations are performative expressions of a bride's sorrow at leaving her natal family and village, the challenges of entering a new household, and the complex emotions surrounding a shift in her familial and social identity. Historically, these lamentations were personal and communal acts, blending individual emotions with societal expectations. Brides often sang mournful songs, sometimes accompanied by their female relatives, such as mothers, sisters, and aunts, who shared in the act. Highly poetic, these songs were filled with metaphorical language reflecting themes of filial piety, love for family, and anxieties about an uncertain future.

Lamentations were also regarded as an art form, with the bride's eloquence and emotional depth earning her respect within the community. A socially acceptable outlet for expressing grief and apprehension, bridal lamentations provided women with a public forum to express their feelings during a transformative life event. Simultaneously, the

[2] See Ma et *al.* (1999) for Salar wedding and bridal lamentations.

collective participation of older women reinforced generational bonds and offered a way for younger brides to learn from their elders' experiences.

Many publications are available about bridal lamentations, e.g., Google Scholar gave 21,000 references for the search term "China wedding laments" (24 January 2025). In the following few paragraphs, I do not attempt a summary of this large body of scholarship. Instead, I comment on a few bridal lamentation materials in China.

Ropp (1993) explores women's lives, works, and literary contributions during the late imperial period in China, detailing how women navigated the constraints of a patriarchal society to express thoughts, emotions, and desires through poetry and other forms of writing. Ropp examines the interplay of love, personal longing, and intellectual engagement in these women's works, highlighting their unique voices amid societal expectations. In analyzing such themes as romantic relationships, familial roles, and limitations imposed on female education and mobility, Ropp underscores the writers' resilience and creativity, offering a rich, nuanced perspective on how gender, culture, and literary expression intersected in this historical context.

McLaren (2008) explores the traditional practice of bridal laments in rural Chinese communities, focusing on their cultural, social, and emotional significance and how these performances serve as a rite of passage for women, allowing them to articulate emotions that might otherwise remain unspoken in patriarchal settings. Combining ethnographic fieldwork, historical analysis, and literary interpretation, she reveals how laments function as personal expressions and collective cultural rituals, offering insight into gender, emotion, and social dynamics in rural China.

Ho's (2005) focus is the poignant tradition of bridal laments in Hong Kong's rural villages, emphasizing their role as a cultural and emotional outlet for women. These laments, often performed by brides before leaving their natal homes, express profound sorrow, love, and loss as they transition into

married life. Ho examines these songs' lyrical content, performance practices, and social contexts, revealing how they reflect the gendered dynamics, familial bonds, and cultural expectations of women in traditional Chinese society. Through vivid ethnographic accounts and detailed analysis, Ho offers compelling glimpses into a fading cultural practice, emphasizing its significance as personal expression and communal ritual.

However, the traditional practice of bridal lamentations had largely faded in 2024 China, due to urbanization, modernization, and easy access to social media and global culture. These sweeping changes have also significantly impacted Mangghuer in the Sanchuan area of Minhe Hui and Tu Autonomous County, Haidong City, Qinghai Province, PR China.

Bridal lamentations and wedding songs were once critically important in Mangghuer weddings, as indispensable as the groom and bride at a wedding. The songs' ritual function far exceeded their entertainment function. Guests were never much annoyed with the host over food, drink, or cigarette quality at a wedding banquet but found inappropriate wedding songs offensive. This explains why Mangghuer usually spent at least ten days learning wedding songs and assigned each song to one or two singers before a wedding.

Changes in living modes and the influence of various external factors in the latter half of the twentieth century and the early twenty-first century, which I discuss later, have led to the disappearance or near extinction of many aspects of the Mangghuer language and cultural traditions. These include wedding venues, ceremonies, bridal lamentations, and wedding songs.

Nearly all Mangghuer born after 1990 have been educated in Chinese-language public schools and experienced the world outside where Mangghuer traditionally lived. These younger people regard Mangghuer wedding traditions, including engagement ceremonies, wedding customs, bridal lamentations, and wedding songs, once indispensable to

Mangghuer weddings, as "outdated" and "backward" and no longer essential. In 2024, engagement and wedding rituals were a hodgepodge of the "new Chinese style."

Born in 1981 and raised and educated through junior middle school in the Mangghuer area, I am saddened by the rapid changes and disappearance of my language and culture. Fortunately, since 2000, I have worked as an independent scholar and research assistant for several international scholars in Northwest China and continuously collected materials on Mangghuer language and cultural traditions. From 2008 to 2010, I traveled throughout Mangghuer areas collecting folktales and songs, recording local rituals and celebrations, and interviewing numerous Mangghuer culture bearers, including spiritual practitioners and elders. I was awed by my home area's Mangghuer folk culture.

In the summer of 2008, I visited about one hundred singers between the ages of twenty-eight and seventy-three from fourteen Mangghuer villages in the Sanchuan area. I collected sixty-eight endangered songs and created a four-volume CD collection of recordings,[3] including wedding songs, lullabies, work songs, drinking songs, bridal lamentations, children's songs, festival songs, and other folk songs. For this book, I have selected four bridal lamentations and three wedding songs from this collection and have analyzed them from a linguistic perspective.

This book consists of four parts.

Part One introduces the Mangghuer ethnic group and the location of bridal lamentations and wedding songs, including residential areas, population, livelihood, language, and religious beliefs. Given their close relationship to weddings and wedding songs, the Mangghuer language and religious beliefs constitute a significant portion of Part One. Examples illustrate changes in Mangghuer language since the 1950s, differences in language usage among generations, and between males and females.

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[3]https://archive.org/details/MinheMangghuerSongscollectedByWenXiangcheng/Covers4.png, accessed 16 November 2024.

Part Two details the traditional Mangghuer marriage patterns, the bride's role (the performer of bridal lamentations), and weddings where bridal lamentations and wedding songs occur. It also explores changes in marriage-related customs following the establishment of New China in 1949, particularly during the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. Traditional Mangghuer bride foot binding, needlework,[4] lamentations, hairstyles, headdresses, and dowry are described. Wedding ceremonies at the bride's and groom's homes and the events held on different days are also covered.

Mangghuer weddings encompass a wide range of etiquette and customs. However, the wedding ceremonies and customs described in this book are only those related to bridal lamentations and wedding songs, and do not provide a comprehensive description of the entire wedding. Additionally, I explore changes in wedding customs, brides' wedding dresses, and venues over the past few decades.

Part Three elaborates on the language features of bridal lamentations and focuses on the lyrics of the four I collected in June 2008 and January 2017.

A Mangghuer bride was expected to perform the lamentations she had learned at her natal home before leaving for the groom's home. Bridal lamentation language features are described with examples from non-daily vocabulary, non-daily expressions, euphemistic expressions, and terms of respect. Euphemistic expressions and terms of respect used in daily communication are given with examples as supplementary explanations to the bridal lamentations' language features.

The collection, performers, and performance context details are given at the beginning of each lamentation, followed by the lyrics glossed as performed in consultation with Slater (2003a) and Chen et *al.* (2005). Lyrics as performed, and English and Modern Standard Chinese (MSC) translations are provided.

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[4] See Pullinen (2015) for more on Mangghuer embroidery and needlework.

As traditional weddings and bridal lamentation performances had become increasingly rare by 2024, along with the decline in the use of the Mangghuer language and the practice of Mangghuer customs, none of the four bridal lamentations included in this book were recorded at weddings. Instead, they were collected from three married Mangghuer women born in 1952, 1977, and 1979. Two of the lamentations were specially performed and recorded at my request in June 2008. Of the other two, one was recorded by the singer at home and shared in a clan WeChat group in January 2017, while the other was self-recorded and uploaded to *Kuaishou*, a Chinese short-video app, by the singer during her spare time while working in Xinjiang in August 2019.

A literature search revealed limited resources on Mangghuer bridal lamentations. Aside from a few excerpts translated into Chinese and English, I did not locate complete lyrics or any written in Mangghuer. Additionally, no published works analyzed the linguistic features of these lamentations, and the available materials in Chinese and English provided minimal contextualization.

The Chinese excerpts of Mangghuer bridal lamentations include those presented by Zhao (1992:148-155) and Xu (2014:139-140). Zhao (1992:148-155) provides five short lamentation excerpts, each containing ten to twenty-three lyrics. Notably, two of these excerpts were composed by male authors based on their interpretations of Mangghuer bridal lamentations rather than transcriptions of actual performances by Mangghuer women. Xu (2014:139-140) includes one bridal lamentation in Chinese. Neither source provides the original Mangghuer lyrics as performed.

English versions of Mangghuer bridal lamentations appeared in the works of Ma (1990:204) and Hu and Stuart (1992:114-115). However, the specific Mangghuer language used during the performance was not included in either of these works. Ma (1990:204) provided the lamentation below translated by Hu and Stuart:

Aihou...
Today I, a know–nothing daughter, am married out; how can I gain all Mother–in–law's family's satisfaction?
In another's home how can I wander about?
I'll be just like a poker jabbed here and there!
I'll be just like vegetable oil, poured here and there...

Hu and Stuart (1992:114-115) present English translations of the following bridal lamentation lyrics:

Eihou... My early dead grandfather and grandmother,
Eihou... Please return and be with me as I marry out.
Eihou... My father and mother, your feet were never able to stop,
Eihou... You were never able to rest day or night,
Eihou... You exerted such effort,
Eihou... On today's day,
Eihou... To make your daughter leave you.
Eihou... On today's day,
Eihou... Has come the time to marry me out.
Eihou... You give me to a place where no sun nor moon rises.
Eihou... People say that I'm now eighteen or nineteen years old.
Eihou... On today's day,
Eihou... You marry your foolish daughter out.
Eihou... How can I satisfy all mother–in–law's family?
Eihou... In other people's home,
Eihou... How can foolish me live?
Eihou... In other people's home,
Eihou... I'll be just like a poker, poked here and there.
Eihou... I'll be poured here and there just like vegetable oil.
Eihou... You knew how to rear me,
Eihou... But you don't know where to marry me out.
Eihou... Terrible sister's [my] brothers and sisters–in–law,
Eihou... Marry your terrible sister out.
Eihou... Days and nights you couldn't rest a bit.
Eihou... On today's day,

Eihou... I can't be your companion and shadow any more.
Eihou... Terrible sister's [my] younger brothers and sisters,
Eihou... We have been good companions and shadows.
Eihou... After today's day,
Eihou... You look after father and mother just as though your sisters [I] was at home.
Eihou... Before this heart rending time,
Eihou... Around your sister you were laughing and playing.
Eihou... On today's day,
Eihou... You are sending your sister to marry out.

Part Four illustrates the similarities and differences in language features of Mangghuer bridal lamentations and wedding songs, and analyzes the lyrics of three wedding songs selected based on their linguistic characteristics. Five wedding song language features are illustrated with examples from non-daily vocabulary, non-daily expressions, use of multiple languages, fixed lyrics and structure, and high narrativity.

The lyrics of each of the three wedding songs are glossed in consultation with Slater (2003a) and Chen et *al.* (2005). Details of the collection, performers, performance context, lyrics as performed, and English and MSC translations are given.

The wedding songs include two songs performed by women to the bridetakers, asking for sewing needles and a small amount of money, and one toasting song performed by men for important guests at a wedding. These songs illustrate the use of non-daily vocabulary and non-daily expressions, as well as lyrics in Chinese and Mangghuer. Moghuolingni Andige 'Round Egg' is performed in Mangghuer, and Menlou'er 'Gatehouse' is in the local Chinese dialect. Lyrics of Suber Wula 'Mount Suber' are performed in Mangghuer and the local Chinese dialect. The three wedding songs were collected in June 2008 and continued to be performed in 2024.

What I describe is based on my experiences and observations in daily life and field research in Sanchuan. Customs vary in Sanchuan villages, and I do not argue that what I describe is the same throughout the Mangghuer area.

The book's photos make textual descriptions more concrete. Some photos were taken in the Sanchuan area nearly a century ago by Zhuang Xueben, an ethnographic photographer from Shanghai during the Republic of China (1912-1949)[5] period, and Carter D Holton.[6]

I use a modified Pinyin system to write the Mangghuer, an unofficial orthographical form for Mangghuer based on the Pinyin Romanization of Mandarin Chinese (Slater 2003b:309). Pinyinized Mangghuer examples include Dpal ldan bkra shis et *al.* (1996), Slater (2003a; 2003b), Wang Xianzhen et *al.* (2001), and Chen et *al.* (2005).[7]

While this is not the first work on Mangghuer songs (Wang and Stuart 1995a, 1995b; Wang et *al.* 1995; Ma 1990; Hu and Stuart 1992; Zhu and Stuart 1996; Zhu et *al.* 1997; Qi et *al.* 1999; Wen 2021), it is the only work I am aware of focusing on Mangghuer bridal lamentation terms and expressions.

I first heard the Sanchuan Tu people referred to as "Mangghuer" in 2000. At that time, I accepted this, but I never really thought about it. Since my childhood, the Sanchuan Tu people I interacted with referred to themselves as "*dani kong*"/"*dasini kong*" 'our people' and called their language "*dani wuge*"/"*dani ge*" 'our language'. The local Tu people I associated with called Mongols "Mangghuer." Among the Sanchuan Tu people, there were also some individuals who

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[5] Zhuang Xueben 庄学本 (1909-1984), a Shanghai photographer, traveled and documented some of China's more remote regions in the 1930s-1940s (https://photographyofchina.com/author/zhuang-xueben, accessed 25 November 2024).

[6] Reverend Carter D Holton, an American missionary, worked in Northwest China from 1923 to 1949, documenting the cultural life of ethnic minorities in the Gansu and Qinghai regions. Known as Hai Yingguang, Holton and his wife (Lora Newberry Holton, Hai Mude) focused on missionary work among Muslims in China. His recordings include 5,000 photographs (https://library.harvard.edu/collections/carter-d-holton-collection, accessed 25 November 2024). See related videos at (https://archive.org/details/Gansu-qinghaiFilms1930-1948, accessed 25 November 2024).

[7] See Wen Xiangcheng (2021) for more.

were called Mangghuer 'Mongol' or Mangghuerqi[8] 'Mongol people', but these were nicknames rather than their real names. They were given such nicknames because they had once spent time in Mongol regions or had lived there. Some had gone there for trade, while others had stayed in Tibetan Buddhist monasteries in Mongol areas as monks. For example, Qijia Mangghuer 'the man from Qijia Village who had stayed in Mongol regions', Yangjia Mangghuer 'the man from Yangjia Village who had stayed in Mongol regions', and *ganni Mangghuerqi awu* 'his uncle who had stayed in Mongol regions'.

Since 2000, I have interviewed numerous Sanchuan elders, and one question I asked was how they referred to themselves and their language. None said they were "Mangghuer" or "Chighang 'White' Mangghuer" and none said their language was "Mangghuer." They laughed when I told them that scholars referred to us as Mangghuer. Some commented that local legends included a story of locals resisting Mongol rule, so how could they possibly be "Mangghuer" 'Mongols'?

I have not found the term "Mangghuer" in pre-1949 materials about Sanchuan. Zhuang Xueben followed the terminology used by people outside Sanchuan and referred to the Sanchuan Tu people as "Sanchuan Tu Ren" 'Sanchuan Tu People' and "Xiaojiao Tu Ren" 'Small-footed Tu People' (a reference to women's bound feet) in his 1937 notes in Sanchuan. He did not mention "Mangghuer." The Sanchuan Tu people were designated as "Tu Zu" 'Tu Ethnic Group' when ethnic classifications were carried out after establishment of New China. Over time, Sanchuan Tu people increasingly introduced themselves to outsiders as "Tu Zu" and their language as "Tu Yu" 'Tu Language'.

Older residents, such as my paternal and maternal grandmothers (1918-2011, 1921-2018), continued to refer to themselves as "*dani kong*" or "*dasini kong*" and called their

[8] No matter for what purpose, Sanchuan Tu who spent time in Xizang or had lived there were called *zangke* 'people who had stayed in Xizang'.

language "*dani wuge*" or "*dani ge.*" The Han Chinese living in areas surrounding Sanchuan referred to the Sanchuan Tu people as *tuguar* 'Tu people'. This term carried derogatory connotations.

Some older (in 2025) Sanchuan scholars explained that when they interviewed Sanchuan elders in the late 1990s, some elders reported they used the term "Mangghuer Kong" to refer to themselves.

In this book, I used the term "Mangghuer" to refer to the Sanchuan Tu people and their language, in accordance with scholars of Tu studies, except in APPENDIX 2: SANCHUAN TU TRANSLATION OF THE PREFACE, where "Mangghuer" refers to the Mongols.

To protect participants' privacy, I have changed the names of certain individuals throughout the text.

During the years I spent collecting materials on the traditional culture and language of my people, the Mangghuer (Sanchuan Tu), I had the privilege of meeting countless individuals from the community. I am deeply grateful for their warm hospitality, their kind willingness to be recorded, their patient and thoughtful answers to my many questions, and their sincere willingness to share their stories.

I also wish to extend my heartfelt thanks to my sister and brothers. Throughout the writing of this book, I turned to them with countless questions. Time and again, they sought answers from local people and always responded with patience and care.

I am also profoundly grateful to all those who, in various ways, offered help and support during the preparation of this book.

Finally, I wish to express my deep gratitude to Professor Juha Janhunen, who carefully read the entire manuscript, provided insightful comments, and graciously wrote the preface.

PREFACE

SAVING MANGGHUER TRADITIONS AND LANGUAGE

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This book is about a vanishing cultural tradition - bridal lamentations and wedding songs - of a small ethnic group whose members are officially classified, together with several other groups, as Tuzu 土族 or Turen 土人 'locals', but who traditionally call themselves Dani Kong 'our people' or Dasini Kong 'our people'. The Russian explorer, Grigorij Nikolaevich Potanin (1835-1920), was the first to document their language,[1] called them Shirongol,[2] but more recently they became the Mangghuer. As this name implies, the Mangghuer speak a language belonging to the Mongolic language family and hence is related to Mongolian, as spoken in Mongolia, including Inner Mongolia. The homeland of the Mangghuer, known in Chinese as Sanchuan 三川 'Three Rivers' or 'Three Plains' and in Mangghuer as Dani Ruang 'Our Place', Dani Wuruang 'Our Place', or Mani Ghazher 'Blessed Land',[9] is, however, located far from Mongolia, on the upper Yellow River at the intersection of China and the historical Amdo Province of Tibet, today administered in the context of Gansu and Qinghai provinces of PR China.

Historical information confirms that the linguistic ancestors of the Mangghuer arrived here with the Mongol army units that served on the Sino-Tibetan frontier during the Yuan

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[9] Etymologically, the term *Mani Ghazher* derives from earlier Mongolic *mani gajar 'our place, our land'. The pronominal form *mani* (< *mani) 'our' (exclusive) has, however, been completely lost in Mangghuer, being replaced by the form *dani* (< *bida-ni) or *dasini* (*bida-s=ni) 'our' (inclusive). Since *mani* was no longer recognized as a pronominal form, the phrase *Mani Ghazher* received the new meaning 'Blessed Land' or 'Auspicious Land', based on the Sanskrit word *mani* (*maṇi*) 'precious jewel', as used widely in Tibetan Buddhism.

(1271-1368) and Ming (1368-1644) dynasties. The Mangghuer are part of the ethnic patchwork that characterizes the region, where several other Mongolic languages are spoken, as well as some rare varieties of Turkic, and various forms of Tibetan and Northwest Mandarin Chinese. Due to their centuries-long coexistence, the local populations, especially those speaking languages other than Tibetan and Chinese, have a long history of multilingualism. The interaction between the different languages is reflected in the presence of areally shared features, both lexical and grammatical, which now define them as members of a language union that has come to be known as the Qinghai-Gansu or Amdo Sprachbund.[3] Mangghuer is an eminent representative of this union, for it is a language that combines its primary Mongolic core with a secondary layer of Tibetan influence, later incorporated into a tertiary framework following the patterns of local Chinese.

Just how and when the Mangghuer became a separate Mongolic language is unknown. Its closest relative is, or was, Mongghuor, which was extensively documented in the early twentieth century by the Belgian missionary, Antoine Mostaert (1881-1971) and his colleague, Albert De Smedt (1884-1941).[4] After their documentation work, no single speaker of Mongghuor has been identified, which probably means that this particular variety has become extinct. The second-closest relative of Mangghuer is Mongghul, still spoken today, further to the north in Qinghai Province and adjoining parts of Gansu.

The linguistic distance between Mangghuer and Mongghul, which are geographically separate, is large enough to render the two languages mutually incomprehensible. Confusingly, Mangghuer, Mongghuor, and Mongghul have all conventionally been referred to as Monguor.[5] This term is supposed to correspond to the similarly ambiguous Chinese concept of Tuzuyu 土族語 'language of the locals', which covers other varieties of speech in the region, some of which are not at all Mongolic.[6]

Of all Mongolic varieties in the Amdo Sprachbund, Mangghuer remains the least documented. It was also the last

to be "discovered," with the first grammatical description appearing only in 2003.[7] Even so, it was long in a favorable position as compared with most other local languages in the region, in that a relatively large non-nomadic population has conventionally spoken it, some 20,000-30,000 people living in a compact area which, although dominated by rural villages, incorporates an urban settlement - the Mangghuer "capital" Guanting.

Until about a generation ago, the entire population in this Mangghuer ethnic territory used Mangghuer as their primary language of social interaction, complemented by Chinese for educational and Tibetan for religious purposes. This situation has now rapidly changed due to the growing impact of the dominant Chinese monoculture transmitted via the media and the outflow of young adults to larger cities in search of social and economic advancement. As a result, the youngest generation is losing not only their ethnic language but also all the traditions for which a survival language is an essential prerequisite.

Against this background, it is understandable that concerns have arisen about the survival of the Mangghuer people, their language, and cultural heritage. The author of this book, Wen Xiangcheng, is today the most active collector and best-informed specialist in the field of Mangghuer oral literature. A native speaker of Mangghuer and a member of the ethnic community, he can assess his people's traditions with the knowledge of an expert and the intuition of an insider. His choice to focus on bridal lamentations and wedding songs is well motivated, as these particular genres combine folklore and folk music with one of the central institutions of the traditional society: marriage.

In the resulting monographic analysis of the topic the author presents, apart from a representative selection of authentic text samples recorded in the field and accompanied by contextual background information, linguistic glossing, and translations, also a detailed general introduction to the history, culture, and current setting of the Mangghuer with special

attention to social structures, the kinship system, and kinship terms. The discussion is amply illustrated by photographs, including some pre-1949 pictures, which the author, for the first time, identified as relating to Mangghuer people.

As an ethnic group, the Mangghuer are, even in the context of the Gansu-Qinghai region, a rare example of extreme cultural syncretism, which correlates with the complex history of their language. Wen Xiangcheng lists as many as eight belief systems, some of which are mutually interconnected, that have contributed to the spiritual heritage of the Mangghuer: animism, shamanism, ancestor worship, Chinese folk religion, Taoism, Tibetan Buddhism, Chinese Buddhism, and, finally, Christianity.

Some traditions, like the summer festival still known as Nadun (from Proto-Mongolic *naadum), can be traced to the historical Mongols. Others, like the formerly common practice of foot binding, which distinguishes the Mangghuer from all other Mongolic-speaking populations, indicate an intimate connection with the Chinese. It may be assumed that there was extensive intermarriage between the Mangghuer and local Chinese at some point. Not surprisingly, even certain Mangghuer wedding songs are sung in local Chinese. Others contain long passages of Chinese words and phrases with only the grammatical markers and the sentence structure remaining Mangghuer.

It is a special merit of this monograph by Wen Xiangcheng that it is based on a multidisciplinary approach in which the recorded textual material is presented and examined not only from the points of view of folklore, poetry, and literary values, but also given all the relevant historical, cultural, and social factors that underlie the contexts in which this material was originally intended to be used. The accurate linguistic notation and grammatical analysis of the texts are of particular value. Fortunately, the similarity of Mangghuer phonetic patterns with those of local Chinese has allowed a practical orthography to be developed for Mangghuer along the principles of the Chinese Pinyin system. Although not exactly

phonemic, this orthography, which has already been used in virtually all previous publications containing Mangghuer language material, reflects ingeniously the actual sound system of Mangghuer. At the same time, it renders Mangghuer formally compatible with local Chinese, which often alternates in the texts.

However, it should be stressed that this system should not be taken at face value, for it has only an indirect correspondence to the segmental structure and actual pronunciation of the language. The letters are used in values that, in some cases, differ significantly from those applied to standard Mandarin.

As a fresh source of language material, this book considerably increases our previous database on Mangghuer. Of particular interest in this connection are the observations of the author concerning the generational evolution of the lexical resources: speakers of the oldest modern generation (born in the early twentieth century) are known to have preserved in some cases original Mongolic words that are already lost in the speech of the next generation (born in the mid twentieth century).

An even more dramatic loss of old native vocabulary in favor of Chinese loanwords occurred in the following generation (born in the late twentieth century). Thus, for instance, the old item for 'mouse', *kherghana* (< *kulugana), was replaced by *laochu* (Chinese 老鼠 *laoshu*) in the second generation. In contrast, the old item for 'tiger', *bersi* (< *bars), was replaced only in the third generation by *laohu* (Chinese 老虎 *laohu*).

Of interest is also the observation that some originally bisyllabic roots are still used in their original shape in songs. At the same time, in normal speech, they have lost the initial syllable, as in *ri* from *yiri* 'to come' (< *ire-) and *lai* from *wulai* [negation particle] (< *ülü).

It is, however, not language change but language shift that leads to language loss. Although the adoption of loanwords and grammatical patterns from neighboring languages has

played an exceptionally conspicuous role in the recent history of Mangghuer, the language has survived, and it is precisely thanks to these "alien" influences that it has evolved into such a remarkably distinct form of speech as it is today.

The situation is different when Mangghuer speakers shift to other languages, normally various forms of Chinese, interrupting the transmission of the language to the next generation. According to Wen Xiangcheng's information, this is happening today. Assuming that a major part of the Mangghuer youngest generation (born after 2000) has lost active command of their ethnic language, the unfortunate conclusion is that the total number of Mangghuer speakers may have been almost halved in a couple of decades. This leaves a rapidly diminishing number of young speakers who can continue to transmit the language in the future.

Language death is a worldwide phenomenon connected with globalization in all its aspects. While many languages worldwide have already passed the threshold leading to inevitable extinction, development can be halted in cases where the language still has a core of active speakers of all ages. This is the situation with Mangghuer. Many language functions will likely fall into oblivion with cultural changes, as has already happened with the bridal lamentations and wedding songs discussed in this book. Even so, the ongoing social and economic "modernization" need not automatically lead to language loss, provided that the language remains alive in some usage domains and, if possible, in some local contexts.

The Sanchuan area might still offer a local context where Mangghuer could have a chance to survive not only in homes but also at the community level. Even so, this requires a conscious effort from activists and specialists like Wen Xiangcheng and his colleagues, as well as the entire speech community. Ultimately, the future of Mangghuer as a living language remains in the hands of the Mangghuer themselves.

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Table 1. Linguistic abbreviations.

ABL	Ablative case	NEG	Negative
ACC	Accusative case	NOMLZR	Nominalizer
ADV	Adverb	OBJ	Objective
ASSOC	Associative	PERF	Perfective aspect
CAUSE	Causative	PL	Plural number
CL	Classifier	POSS	Possessive
COLL	Collective	PROG	Progressive aspect
COM	Comitative case	PRT	Final particle
COMP	Comparative/ Complementizer	PURP	Purpose
COND	Conditional	QUEST	Question
COP	Copula	QUOTE	Quotative
DAT	Dative case	REFLPOSS	Reflexive possessive
DIR	Directive case	SG	Singular number
EMPH	Emphatic	SUBJ	Subjective
FUT	Future tense	VBLZR	Verbalizer
GEN	Genitive case	VOL	Voluntative
IMPERF	Imperfective aspect	1	First person
INDEF	Indefinite	2	Second person
INSTR	Instrumental case	3	Third person

PART ONE:
THE MANGGHUER

LOCATION

Sanchuan 'Three Rivers/Plains' is an unofficial name for an area on the north bank of the Yellow River inhabited by Mangghuer in Minhe Hui and Tu Autonomous County, Haidong City, Qinghai Province, PR China. It is Minhe County's southernmost area with a relatively low elevation.[10] Across the Yellow River is Jishishan Bao'an, Dongxiang, and Salar Autonomous County,[11] Linxia Hui Autonomous Prefecture, Gansu Province.

The Chinese term "Sanchuan" is from *san* 'three' and *chuan* 'river', 'alluvial plain', or 'flat low-lying place between mountains'. Sanchuan territory is controversial. One opinion suggests riverside areas along Baojia Aruer 'Baojia River', Zhujia Aruer 'Zhujia River' (also known as Damajia Aruer 'Damajia River'), and Sangbura Aruer 'Sangbura River',[12] all of which flow into the Yellow River from north to south. This area includes contemporary Guanting Town, Zhongchuan Township, and areas in Xing'er, Gangou, and Qianhe townships and Manping Town.

Another opinion is that Sanchuan is the general name of Shangchuan 'Upper Plain', Zhongchuan 'Middle Plain', and

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[10] The terrain in the Sanchuan region is higher in the north and lower in the south, with an altitude of 1,700-2,000 meters (Qinghai sheng bianji zu 2009:143). Average elevation = 1,760 meters ASL. Zhongchuan Township is the lowest elevation area in Qinghai Province (https://baike.baidu.com/item/中川乡/34680?fr=ge_ala, accessed 23 October 2023).

[11] The 2017 population of Jishishan County included Han (122,844), Hui (84,658), Dongxiang (22,611), Bao'an (18,297), Salar (10,307), Monguor (Tu, 6,419), and Tibetan (1,557) (https://baike.baidu.com/item/积石山保安族东乡族撒拉族自治县/8746425?fr=ge_ala, accessed 23 October 2023).

[12] Some suggest Sanchuan refers to riverside areas along Zhaomuchuan Aruer 'Zhaomuchuan River', Zhujia Aruer 'Zhujia River', and Sangbura Aruer 'Sangbura River'.

Hachuan/Xiachuan[13] 'Lower Plain'. Shangchuan includes the villages in the plain area around Guanting Town such as Zhaizi, Baojia, Baojia Shawar/Shawo'er, Qinjia, Chenggen, Zhangjia, Lüjia Hangtou/Hangdao, Sanfang, Hejia, Lajia, Xiaolijia, and villages in the Zhaomuchuan area including Guojia, Yujia, Doujia, Zhangjia, Majia, and Taiken/Taigen.

Zhongchuan includes Zhujiacher/Zhujiacheng, Paijia/Baijia, Shangtang, Guangfang, Erfang, Sifang, Wangshighuer, Wuzhangjia, Hulijia, Hulang Duoruo, Saotuer Aruer, Xinjia, Wangjia, Haojia, Yangjia, Shang Majia, Ha Majia/Xia Majia, Wenjia, Qijia, Hejia, Tianjie/Tianjia, Songjia, Jijia, Nuojie/Ejia, and Wangjiler villages, which refer to the plain area around Zhongchuan Township Town.

Hachuan/Xiachuan, the plain area surrounding the previous Xiakou Township Town,[14] includes Ganjia, Tiegong, Jiangmajia, Khuaiter, Nanjia Khuzhu, Xiejia, Dazhuang, Laozhuang, and Bazer. Most villages in Hachuan/Xiachuan are collectively known as Sangbura.

Sanchuan is also known as Mani Ghazher[15] 'Blessed Land', 'Auspicious Land' by local Mangghuer. Some locals also refer to Sanchuan as Sanchuan Wowar 'Sanchuan Pit', suggesting Sanchuan is a small basin. In 2024, Mangghuer working outside the Mangghuer area considered Sanchuan their homeland regardless of plain or mountain area origins.

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[13] I have used Pinyin to represent the local Chinese dialect and followed it with a Modern Standard Chinese version.

[14] Xiakou Township became part of Zhongchuan Township in 2001.

[15] In the Mangghuer language, the Tibetan loanword "*mani/manie*" refers to prayer beads and the activities of Mangghuer elders chanting Chinese Buddhist scripture, which I elaborate on later when discussing Mangghuer religious beliefs. However, in the place names of the Sanchuan area, "*mani/manie*" typically implies "land of the Buddha," "land where people believe in the Buddha," "land protected by the Buddha," "blessed land," or "auspicious land." Examples include Mani Buleghe 'Mani Spring', located near Wenjia Monastery in Zhongchuan Township, and Mani Shan 'Mount Mani', situated behind Guanting Town.

The term "Mani Ghazher" is a compound of the Tibetan word "*mani*" and the Mangghuer word "*ghazher*" 'land', and is commonly interpreted as "blessed land" or "auspicious land."

The current towns and townships in Sanchuan were established as administrative units after the founding of New China in 1949. During the Qing Dynasty (1644-1912), the administrative unit in the Sanchuan area was *bu* 'fortress', which related to military affairs. Five *bu* were established in Sanchuan in the Qing Dynasty, namely Guanting Bu (also known as Shou Bu 'first *bu*', including the surrounding area of today's Guanting Town), Jishi Bu (named after Mount Jishi, including the Zhaomuchuan area), Danyang[16] Bu (named after Danyang Bazer 'Danyang City', including the area around today's Zhongchuan Township), Sama 'horse-herding' Bu (today's Sangbura area),[17] and Zhaohua Shancheng Bu (also known as Zhaohua Bu, including the area of Enduba Ghuer/Minzhu Ghuer Valley and some areas of today's Qianhe Township). These five *bu* collectively were called Wudabu 'five big fortresses'. When Mangghuer elders mentioned Sanchuan, they connected Sanchuan and Wudabu, and said, "Wudabu Sanchuan," for example, "*Danyang Gongzhu geji dasini Wudabu Sanchuanni hudu nieretai hen xijunkong ge bang* 'Princess Danyang was a very famous and powerful woman from our Wudabu Sanchuan'."

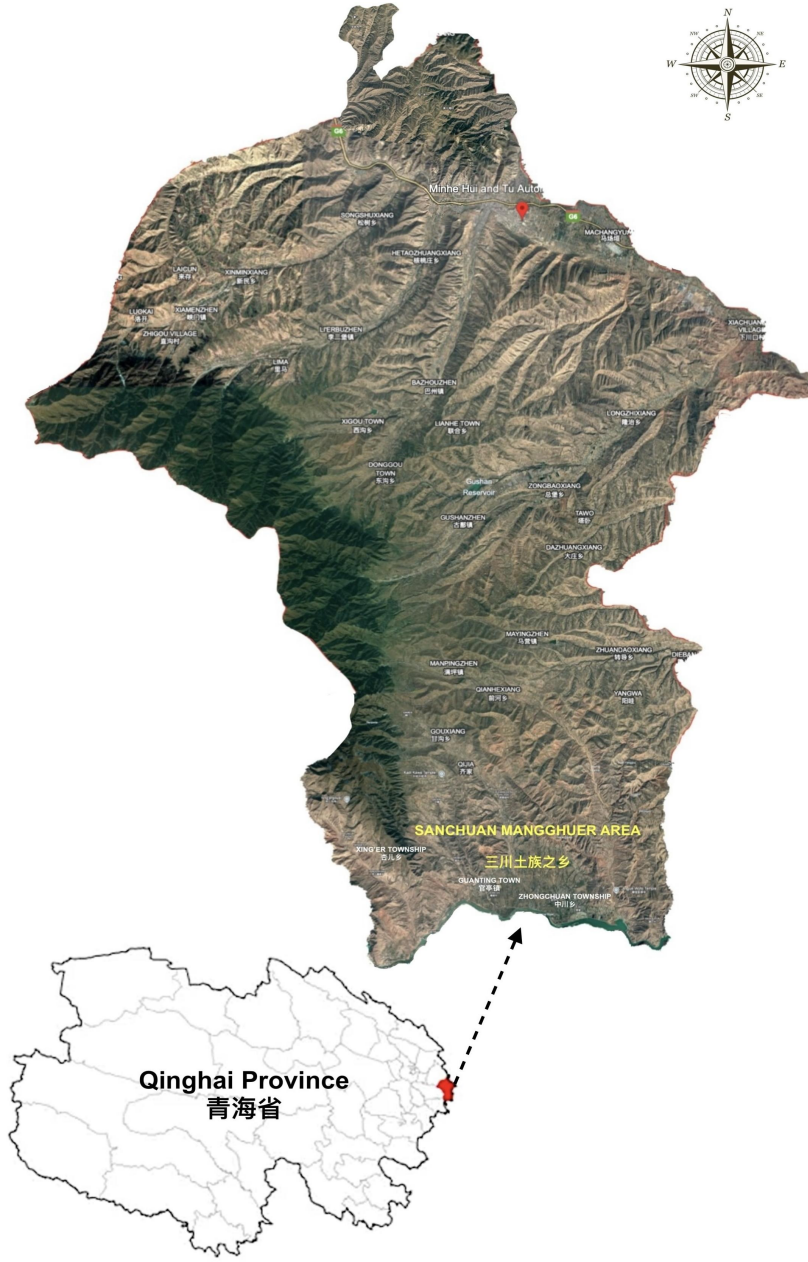
[16] A Mangghuer narrative describes Danyang Gongzhu 'Princess Danyang' as a wise, resourceful, brave, and beautiful princess. Danyang City ruins are on a hill behind Xinjia Village, Zhongchuan Township. The crumbling city walls were evident in 2024, with agricultural fields located within them. The Danyang Gongzhu narrative in Mangghuer (audio) is available at (https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/2165778, read by Wang Xianzhen, accessed 25 November 2024). The Mangghuer written text for this is available at Wang (2001:2-7). English versions of the same narrative are available at Wang (1994:134) and Xin (2005:27-40).

[17] Local elders said Sangbura (also known as Samawan 'Horse-Herding Bay') was a military horse ranch for the Mongol garrison stationed in the Sanchuan area during the Yuan Dynasty.

Figure 1. Qinghai Province, PR China.[18]

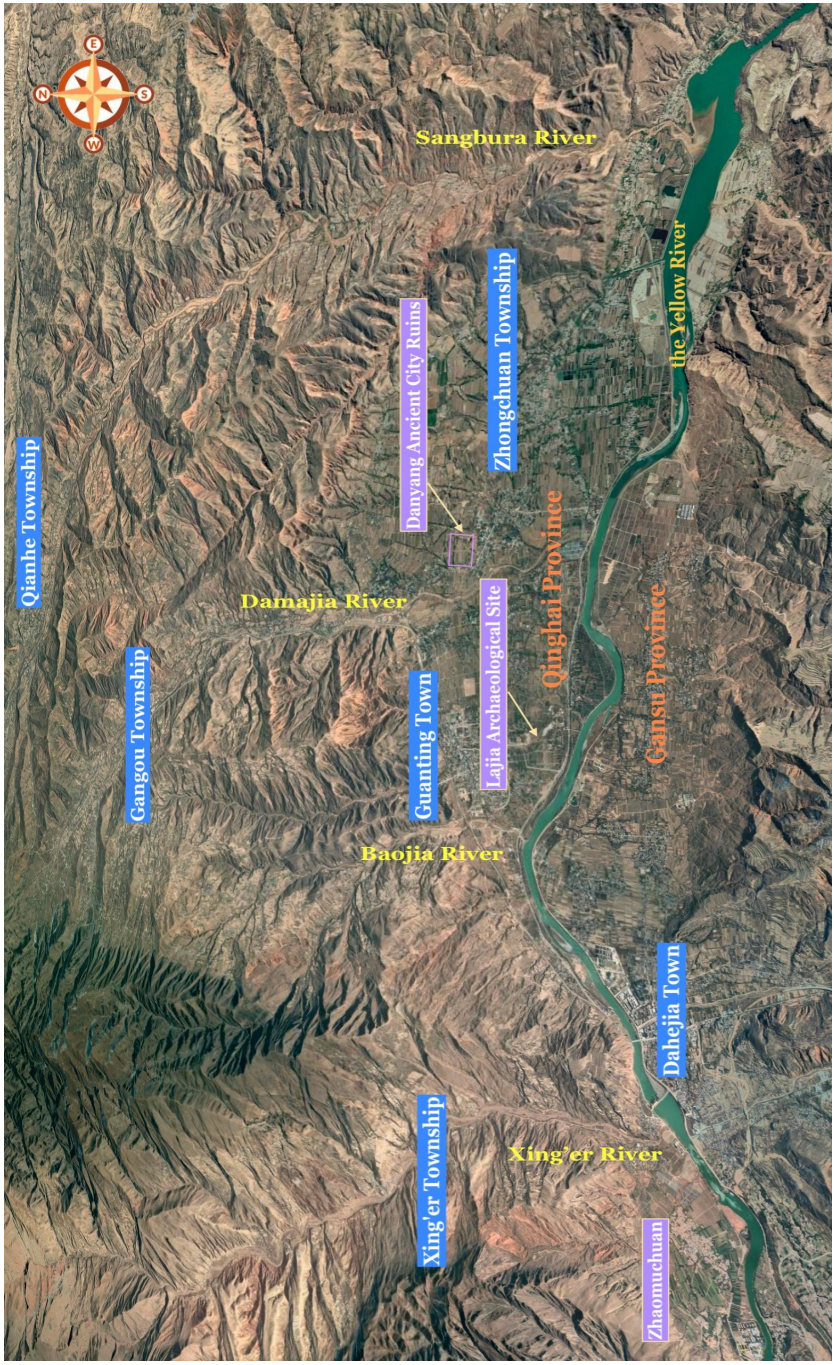
[18] https://lbs.amap.com/demo/javascript-api/example/map/map-english, accessed 23 October 2023.

Figure 2. Minhe Hui and Tu Autonomous County, Qinghai Province.[19]



[19] https://www.google.com/maps, accessed 25 November 2024.

Figure 3. Mangghuer area in the south of Minhe County.[20]



[20] www.google.com/maps, accessed 25 November 2024.

Figure 4. A view of Guanting Town. Jishishan 'Mount Jishi', Gansu Province across the Yellow River (1937, Zhuang Xueben in Li 2009:300).[21]

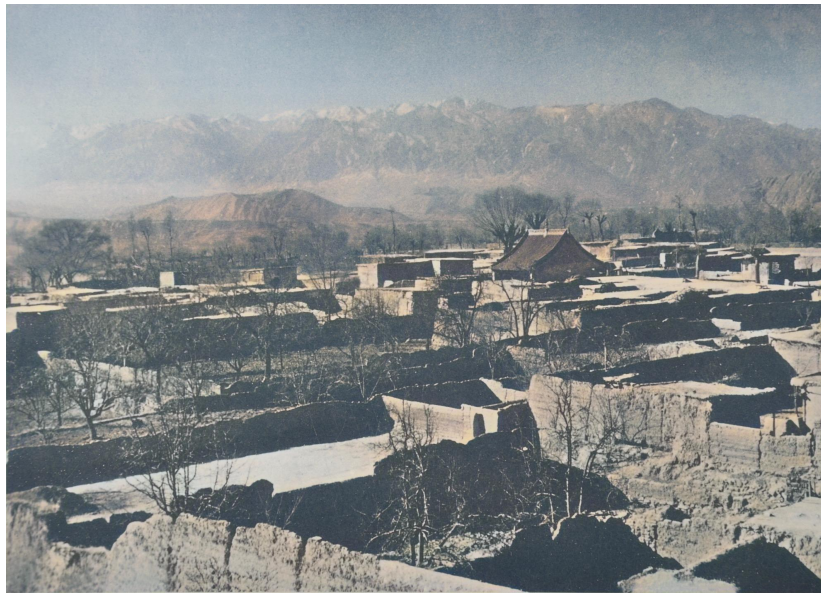


Figure 5. Danyang City across Zhujia Aruer (1934, Carter D Holton).

[21] This photograph and certain other photos by Zhuang Xueben and Carter D Holton have been colorized.

POPULATION

The Mangghuer are a branch of China's Tu (Monguor) ethnic group, with a population of 281,928.[22] The Tu are the largest ethnic group in Sanchuan with a population of approximately 42,000. Han Chinese, Hui, Tibetan, and Dongxiang lived with Mangghuer in certain villages.[23]

San'erjia Village in Shiyuan Town, Jishishan Bao'an, Dongxiang, and Salar Autonomous County, Linxia Hui Autonomous Prefecture, Gansu Province faced Sanchuan from the south bank of the Yellow River. It was a Mangghuer village. In 2019, the population of Mangghuer in San'erjia Village was some 1,300.[24] Their ancestral home was Sangbura Village of Sanchuan, so their language and traditional customs were the same as Mangghuer in Sanchuan.

LIVELIHOOD

The Sanchuan area, characterized by its level terrain, sufficient water resources, and an elevation below 2,000 meters, is well-suited for agriculture. Evidence suggests crop cultivation in this area has a history of at least 4,000 years, highlighted by the discovery of a bowl of millet noodles at the Lajia archaeological site in Lajia Village, Guanting Town in 2002.[25]

In 2024, Mangghuer farmers cultivated *budi* 'wheat', *baogu/shushumiu* 'corn', *naramu* 'foxtail millet', *amu* 'broom corn millet', *sigha/kuqiao* 'buckwheat', *shanye* 'potato', *huangduer* 'soybean', *mula pujighe* 'pea', *shuguer pujighe* 'broad bean', *huma* 'flax', *gaizi* 'oil-seed rape', *jiaozi* 'Sichuan

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[22] https://www.stats.gov.cn/sj/ndsj/2022/indexch.htm, accessed 23 October 2023.
[23] The 2020 population of Minhe County was Han (140,197), Hui (137,245), Tu (33,994), Tibetan (13,551), Dongxiang (473), and Baoan (43) (https://www.hongheiku.com/xianjirank/qhxsqrk/10983.html, accessed 23 October 2023).
[24]https://www.jss.gov.cn/jss/zwdt/mtjj/art/2022/art_3e55f898ddd04c3da0b8de2098825047.html, accessed 20 May 2024.
[25] https://www.nationalgeographic.com/history/article/4-000-year-old-noodles-found-in-china, accessed 25 December 2024.

pepper', *chighang sai/chighang cai* 'cabbage', *bosai/baocai* 'spinach', *qinsai/qincai* 'celery', *sha tuerma* 'carrot', *tang luopu* 'sugarbeet', *xihongshi* 'tomato', *xigua* 'watermelon', *lajiu/lajiao* 'chili', *sangpusighe* 'garlic', *songyer/congyer* 'scallion', *yangsong/yangcong* 'onion', *qiezi* 'eggplant', *saigua/caigua* 'zucchini', *wogua* 'pumpkin', *chighang tuerma* 'turnip', *huanggua* 'cucumber', *pingguo* 'apple', *dongguo* 'pear', *re alima* 'apricot', and *tao* 'peach'.

Despite the Yellow River flowing through the area, historical limitations in irrigation and fishing techniques meant residents made minimal use of its water resources.

Historically, crops, vegetables, and fruits were produced for household consumption. On rare occasions, when there was surplus grain or fruit, households sold them at the Guanting Town market. However, as young people increasingly left the Mangghuer area to work and therefore ate away from home for half a year or more, farmers began to have surplus produce to sell.

Soybeans[26] became a main source of income for most Sanchuan farmers between 1990 and 2000.

Locals occasionally sold livestock (*khuoni* 'sheep', *yima* 'goat', *mori* 'horse', *laosa* 'mule', *erjige* 'donkey', *fuguer/huguer* 'cattle', *kheghai* 'swine') to increase their income. Buying and selling livestock depended on word-of-mouth and taking an animal to the Guanting market to sell. Local Muslims were particularly interested in purchasing local livestock (except swine) to resell.

Mangghuer had taboos regarding livestock sales. For example, the intention to sell a particular animal should not be said out loud before the decision was finalized. If this intention was voiced and later changed, and the animal was not sold, the animal might die for no apparent reason. After the animal was sold, the seller customarily plucked a tuft of its hair to take home and left the rope used for leading the animal behind. The rope, however, was retained by the seller, as the buyer was not supposed to take it. Keeping the hair and rope of the animal

[26] Locals did not make tofu or soy sauce.

signified that the family would have more of such livestock in the future.

For those who did not receive higher education and did not have official employment with regular lifetime income, migrating to work provided an important income source in 2024, with young Mangghuer collecting caterpillar fungus on the Tibetan Plateau, picking cotton in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region, doing construction work in urban areas, and working in restaurants as service staff. A few Mangghuer made money from business or as drivers. This situation was dramatically different from earlier times when Mangghuer were largely self-sufficient through farming and raising swine, sheep, goats, and chickens for household consumption and horses, mules, cattle, and donkeys for field work, and for the transportation of humans and agricultural goods.

Figure 6. A Mangghuer woman uses a donkey to pull a stone roller to grind grain (1937, Zhuang Xueben in Li 2009:310).

Mangghuer speak Mangghuer, a Monguor dialect belonging to the Mongolic branch of the Altaic languages. Mangghuer have a written system but it is not widely used. Among the several Monguor dialects, Mongghul is spoken in Huzhu Tu Autonomous County and Datong Hui and Tu Autonomous County, Qinghai Province, and Tianzhu Tibetan Autonomous County, Gansu Province. Most Mangghuer speakers live in the Sanchuan area of Minhe Hui and Tu Autonomous County, Qinghai Province, and a few live in San'erjia Village, Shiyuan Town, Jishishan Bao'an, Dongxiang, and Salar Autonomous County, Linxia Hui Autonomous Prefecture, Gansu Province.

Chinese[27] and Tibetan languages have influenced Mangghuer. Lists of Mangghuer, Chinese, and Tibetan terms are provided at the end of this book. Chinese characters follow Chinese terms, Tibetan terms are followed by Wylie and Tibetan script, and Mangghuer terms are written in Mangghuer and have English translations.

Traditionally, literate Mangghuer, particularly those who could read and write Chinese, held high status locally. Before the 1990s, villagers brought red paper to their homes to request handwritten Spring Festival couplets ahead of the Festival. If someone had relatives outside Sanchuan who needed to write letters, they sought help from these literate individuals. Those who knew and could explain the lyrics of wedding songs and other folk songs in Chinese and various ritual speeches took pride in their knowledge and did not readily teach these lyrics to others.

Locals never sat on books and paper with written words because they believed sages created sacred words.[28] Historically, Mangghuer used the Chinese language to make contracts and keep financial accounts.

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[27] See for example, "Natural Mangghuer texts exhibit a high rate of borrowing of lexical resources from Chinese" (Slater 2021:81).
[28] See Zhu and Stuart (2016) for a history of Mangghuer learning Chinese.

Tibetan language influenced Mangghuer as is evidenced in religious terms and in such daily-use terms as *anamana* 'act like a real one', 'imitate something real', *alabala* 'so-so', *hareihurei* 'rushed' 'negligent' 'careless', *yingdamenda* 'must' 'definite', *aolai* 'yes' 'right', and *manba* 'Tibetan doctor'.

Zhuang Xueben, an anthropologist and documentary photographer during the Republic of China period, was one of the earliest scholars to record the Tu/Monguor people. He visited Tu/Monguor settlements multiple times from 1935 to 1937. In one report, he described the spoken language and writing system used by the Tu/Monguor people as:

他们（土人）通用汉文，契约、书信多用汉字，而读书识字的人很少，除非几个附近县城的村庄。当喇嘛的土人，多读藏文，所以土人又通行藏文，但是藏文只有在宗教上应用 (Li 2009:297)。

They (Tu people) generally use Chinese when writing. They use Chinese characters more often when making contracts and writing letters. But except for a few villages near the county town, there are very few people in other villages who can read and write in Chinese. Mangghuer Tibetan Buddhist monks[29] often use Tibetan script, so Mangghuer also use Tibetan script when writing, but Tibetan script is only used for religious matters.

Mangghuer scholar Lü Jianfu's account in *The History of Tu Nationality* further confirms this:

“说土语，写汉字”的双语制一直成为土族的传统，民国时期残存的土族，仍然保留着土话汉字的这个传统。日常用语使用土语，对外交际和专门场合则是用汉语（如婚礼的不少场合都使用汉语词句），而文字不论官方、民间惟用汉文，只有僧人入寺学习、著述，使用藏语文，但土族寺院日常用语仍为土语 (Lü 2002:535)。

[29] Local Mangghuer refer to Tibetan Buddhist monks as "lama" in the Sanchuan area.

The bilingual system of "speaking Tu language and writing Chinese characters" has always been a tradition among the Tu ethnic group. Even during the Republic of China era, the remaining Tu people still maintained this tradition of using Tu language for daily communication and Chinese characters for writing. They use the Tu language in everyday conversations, but for external communication and special occasions, they use Chinese (for example, many aspects of weddings involve the use of Chinese terms and phrases). Only Chinese characters are used in written form, whether official or informal. Only Tu monks, when studying or writing in the monasteries, use Tibetan script, while the daily language in local Tibetan Buddhist monasteries remains the Tu language.

Linguist Keith Slater described Mangghuer language from a linguistic perspective:

Owing to a long history of multilingualism, the results of language contact in Mangghuer, and in neighboring languages, are profound (Slater 2003b:307).

Mangghuer core vocabulary and most of its morphosyntax are clearly of Mongolic origin; however, Mangghuer has essentially Sinitic phonology, as well as a large body of Sinitic loanwords in its lexicon (Slater 2003b:307).

With the popularization of Chinese education and the expansion of communication with outsiders after the establishment of modern China, Chinese vocabulary increasingly became part of daily Mangghuer communication, especially after the Nine-Year Compulsory Education Policy was implemented in the late 1980s.

In 2024, nearly all Mangghuer children attended public schools and most students in elementary and junior middle schools used Modern Standard Chinese in daily conversations. Many Mangghuer lexical items local elders used were rarely

heard and not understood by young people. It was common for grandparents to speak to their grandchildren in Mangghuer and for the latter to reply in Chinese.

I realized the Mangghuer language was changing, especially daily-use language, when I was a child in the 1980s. The adoption of Chinese terms for addressing family members was an early noticeable language change. *Ana* is the only Mangghuer term for "mother." However, "father" varies by clan, with terms such as *adi*, *ada*, *aba*. Local Han Chinese also use *ada* and *aba*. In the 1980s, Mangghuer parents working in local governments, schools, government stores, government grain stations, and hydroelectric stations and living in their villages encouraged their children to call them *baba* 'father' in MSC and *mama* 'mother' in MSC to show that their families were more modern and progressive than traditional farming families. However, traditional terms were still used for other family members, such as *aye* 'paternal grandfather', *niana* 'paternal grandmother', *gaga* 'older brother', and *ajia* 'older sister'. This led to differences among siblings in addressing parents. For example, I had an uncle and aunt who had three children. My uncle worked in a local hydroelectric station. Their daughter, born in 1978, and their son, born in 1981, called them *adi* and *ana*, while their younger son, born in 1984, called them *baba* and *mama*.

By the 1990s, even children from farming families started calling their parents *baba* and *mama*. By around 2000, the universal terms for parents became *baba* and *mama*, and terms for other family members also started to be expressed in MSC, such as *yeye* 'paternal grandfather', *nainai* 'paternal grandmother', *gege* 'older brother', and *jiejie* 'older sister'. The evolution of these terms is closely tied to the Mangghuer group, which lacks a widely used script and holds Chinese characters in reverence.

My grandmothers and I used different terms for the same thing when we chatted, though it did not interfere with our communication. When my maternal grandmother asked, "*Qi shuliankuni dibu* 'Have you had your evening meal'?" My

typical answer was, "*Bi heifan di ba* 'I have eaten supper'." *Heifan* is Chinese Qinghai dialect for supper.

Qi	shulian-ku-ni	di-bu?
2:SG	evening-IMPERF-GEN	eat-SUBJ:PERF:QUEST

Bi	heifan	di-ba.
1:SG	supper	eat-SUBJ:PERF

Some terms my parents used were also different from those my grandmothers used. It was common to hear different generations from the same family use different terms for the same things, as Table 2 illustrates. However, Mangghuer word order was the same as that used by people born a century earlier, such as my maternal and paternal grandmothers.

Table 2. Different terms for the same thing in three generations in a Mangghuer family.

Wang Dongmeihua (1918-2011)	Wen Jinde (b. 1950)	Wen Xiangcheng (b. 1981)	Chinese (Pinyin + Chinese character)	Translation
chujin/wuruo	wuruo	qinqi	qinqi 亲戚	guest
bersi	bersi/laohu	laohu	laohu 老虎	tiger
tiemie	tiemie	luotuo	luotuo 骆驼	camel
mixiqin/huer	huer	huer	hou 猴	monkey
tughureng	tughureng	dayan	dayan 大雁	wild goose
shuguo shibao	shuguo shibao	tujiu	tujiu 秃鹫	vulture
huliuliu	huliuliu	jiying	ying 鹰	eagle
shuashuayer	shuashuayer	yanzi	yanzi 燕子	swallow
gugu miawu	gugu miawu	maotouying	maotouying 猫头鹰	owl
ermisara	ermisara	bianfu	bianfu 蝙蝠	bat
kherghana	laochu	laochu	laoshu 老鼠	rat/mouse

xijuesi	xijuesi	liushu	liushu 柳树	willow tree
khailasi	khailasi	youxier	yushu 榆树	elm tree
chidangji /zhaghaji	chidangji /zhaghaji	zhaghaji	wangshang 往上	upward
huerdaiji/ duoruoji	huerdaiji/ duoruoji	duoruoji	wangxia 往下	downward
ergu	ergu/beila	beila	tiao (肩)挑	carry on one's shoulder
jiebudie	jiebudie/ xiuke	xiuke	xiu 锈	get rusty
puzhersang suzu	kaishui	kaishui	kaishui 开水	boiled water
kuerniege	kuerniege	jiuqu	jiuqu 酒曲	brewer's yeast
khanzhawar	khanzhawar	arasi	ke 壳	(walnut) shell
sigha	sigha/kuqiao	kuqiao	kuqiao 苦荞	buckwheat
naramu	naramu	xiaomi	xiaomi 小米	foxtail millet
gara	gara	zise	zise 紫色	purple
qietu	qietu/xianjin	xianjin	xianyan 鲜艳	(color) bright
zhabang	zhabang	su	su 素	(color) plain
boruotu yanshui	boruotu yanshui	huise	huise 灰色	gray
pandai	pandai	pandai/gu	gu 鼓	drum
shang'huo	shang'huo	maobi	maobi 毛笔	writing brush
kuerge	kuerge/qiao	qiao	qiao 桥	bridge
shinia	shinia	xiezi	xiezi 楔子	wedge
tuguerge	tuguerge	kouzi	suokou 锁扣	hasp
tiaoshi	tiaoshi	tong	tong 铜	copper
nuoqier	guoyu	guoyu	guoyu 过雨	thunderstorm
xijiao	xijiao	wei	wei 胃	stomach

bori	bori	shen	shen 肾	kidney
pobu	pobu	fei	fei 肺	lung
hanisigha	hanisigha	meimao	meimao 眉毛	eyebrow
muladi	muladi/awu	awu	shushu 叔叔	father's younger brother
mula ana	mula ana	ayi	ayi 阿姨	wife of muladi/awu

In addition to generational differences in vocabulary use, there were gender differences in terms of address, wording choice, and speech emphasis when speaking Mangghuer.

Males generally employed traditional terms of respect (listed and explained later) when addressing others. Meanwhile, women used more euphemistic terms of address such as *awuni* 'one's paternal uncle', *ajiuni* 'one's maternal uncle', *aguni*, 'one's paternal aunt', and *qinzini* 'one's *ajiu*'s wife' (other euphemistic terms of address are explained later). In addition, when females referred to themselves or things that belonged to them, they occasionally added self-deprecating adjectives such as *mao* 'bad' 'old' 'tattered', and *diandong* 'silly'. Examples include:

Bi diandong kong tikernang mula dajiang.
I, this silly person, never thought of that.

Muni ni mao dier daiguo zangnangralang.
The tattered clothes of mine easily become dirty.

If someone praised a child for performing well or being good-looking, the father often readily accepted the praise, but the mother usually expressed humility by denying the compliment:

A neighbor:
Niker bulai zaihangni gua!
What a beautiful baby boy!

Mother:

Angji zaihang bang! Nuduni muladada ge!
Oh, no! You see, his eyes are so small.

A neighbor:

Qini kao ma kao bieri qimeidu zhuoliani gua!
Your son and daughter-in-law are so filial to you!

Mother:

Angqiku zhuolian bi a, kuogha saolang a.
They are not that filial, often make me angry.

Mangghuer vocabulary had no gender division in wording choice. Males and females of the same generation commonly used the same terms for the same things. However, females frequently used modal particles such as *anana*, *anaya*, *anou'a*, and *gua* to express surprise or anger. *Anana*, *anaya*, and *anou'a* share a common root, '*ana*', which means 'mother' in the Mangghuer language. For example:

Anana, ni gua qierni angguo lai qigesang shenge.
Tut-tut, it seems like he has never seen money before.

Anaya, gezai ge ayi ba!
Oh my mum, it startled me!

Anou'a! Qi shighainang yage ba? Kuguru[30] saojiangla.
Oh my gosh! what's wrong with your leg? It's bruised.

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[30] Mangghuer terms denoting colors can be turned into verbs by adding suffixes such as *-la*, *-ra*, *-ru*, *-ruo*, and *-tu*, with the resulting verbs meaning "to become that color." The choice of suffix varies depending on the pronunciation of the color and, in some cases, the pronunciation of the color itself may change when the suffix is added. For example: *khara* 'black' - *kharala* 'become black', *sha* 'yellow' - *shala* 'become yellow', *hulang* 'red' - *hulaira* 'become red', *chighang* 'white' - *chighaira* 'become white', *kuguo* 'blue' - *kuguru* 'become blue', *nuoghuang* 'green' - *nuoghuoruo* 'become green', *boruo* 'gray' - *boruotu* 'become gray'.

Ti yige amaher duruasini mali wu xighasha gua!
Just a little liquor left, please drink it quickly!

The probability of a male using these modal particles was low, and a man who frequently used such modal particles was ridiculed.

Regarding speech emphasis, females' pitch was often questioning, tending to seek advice from others and seeking their consent or approval as compared to male speakers. Females used interrogative sentences more frequently than males in daily life. For example, when a couple discussed planting corn the next day:

The husband might have said:

Mughashi baogu tarila yao wa.
Let's go plant corn tomorrow.

The wife might have said:

Mughashi baogu tarila yaosa bernu wan?
Is it OK to go plant corn tomorrow?

When a couple planned to go out for a while without intending to lock the door:

The husband might have said:

Shuguaidini bao cherghuluo ma khama gui.
The gate doesn't need to be locked, it should be OK.

The wife might have said:

Shuguaidini lai cherghuluosa khama gui ba?
Is it OK if the gate is not locked?

When expressing concern and love for someone, females often used a pitch blaming the other person in a reproachful tone:

Muni ger qi daige ge lai riji yala?
Why haven't you come to my home for so long?

Ni caisini puza diger jianke sha?
Have some more of these dishes, OK?

Niker qierni bari gesa gan yala?
Why don't you take this money? What are you doing?

Lamentations exhibited similar pitch:

Ayi anasi,
mieshiher liangtiansa wuruoji yirisa,
diandong mao cherdunang erdian diger wulai suerghanu.
Qini mao cher yang erdianni suer a dajiangla,
ayi anasini nuerni shuerkekusa lai ayibu?

Mother-like aunts,
if you had come to visit me several days earlier,
you could have taught your silly bad niece some skills.
Your silly bad niece didn't learn any skills,
mother-like aunts, haven't you worried about losing face?
(Lamentation 1: Aihou Yila)

Religions

Sanchuan lies on the border between Han Chinese and Tibetan areas and has historically been a place where diverse ethnic groups continually merged and integrated,[31] particularly in Tibetan monasteries. Mangghuer, Han Chinese, Tibetans, and other groups have coexisted on this land. The Mongols ruled the area during the Yuan Dynasty (1271-1368), and Western missionaries carried out missionary activities in this region before the establishment of New China.

[31] See, for example, "…sequences in the DNA of the Tu people from modern China indicate that Europeans similar to modern Greeks mixed with an East Asian population around 1200 BC. The source of this European DNA might have been merchants travelling the Silk Road" (Cossins 2014).

Several Mangghuer villages claim their ancestors were Tibetans, Han Chinese, Hui, or other groups. For instance, in Guanting Town, Qinjia Village genealogy records indicate that their ancestors were Han Chinese from Shanxi Province. Residents of Baojia Village believe their ancestors migrated from Tibetan regions. In Zhongchuan Township, Majia Village residents assert their ancestors were Hui from the opposite bank of the Yellow River, and abstain from sacrificing pigs when worshiping their ancestors. Meanwhile, Baijia villagers in Enduba Ghuer Valley speak Mangghuer and follow Mangghuer customs, yet their official identification cards identify them as Tibetan.

The integration of various ethnic groups has contributed to the Mangghuer's diverse religious beliefs. In 2024, Tibetan Buddhism, Chinese Buddhism, Taoism, shamanism, animism, ancestor worship, and Christianity influenced the Mangghuer. Aside from underground Christianity, which developed around 2000 without public religious activities, other religions in the area coexisted harmoniously, influencing and collaborating without conflict. For example, the Chinese Buddhist scripture *Mani Ganben*, written in Chinese characters, was chanted by lay villagers in Tibetan Buddhist monasteries. In 2010, a Buddhist monk from Zhujia Ximian 'Zhujia Tibetan Buddhist Monastery' served as the caretaker of the Erlang Temple in Zhujia Village. The former caretaker of Shancheng Miao 'Mountain Castle Temple', a Tibetan Buddhist monastery located on Shancheng Wula 'Mountain Castle Mountain' behind Sangbura Village, was a *yinyang* (see below).

The presence of multiple religious beliefs led Mangghuer, if asked about their beliefs, to respond variously, "Buddhism," "the deities," "heaven and earth." However, they were often unaware or indifferent to the religion associated with the deities they worshiped, believing that as long as it was a deity, worshiping and venerating it brought benefits.

Wen Zhongxiang described the religious beliefs of Mangghuer:

三川土族的信仰是开放的、兼容并蓄的，只要认为对自身有益便来者不拒，有时在同一活动中喇嘛、阴阳先生、法拉、法师甚至本本子、“眼见鬼”等同场作法，为主人家驱疫禳灾 (Wen 2012a:20)。

The religious beliefs of the Sanchuan Tu ethnic group are open and inclusive. They welcome any practices they believe will benefit themselves. Sometimes, in the same ritual, Tibetan Buddhist monks, *yinyang* [Taoist priests], *huala*[32] [spirit mediums of local deities], *fashi* [male shamans], *benbuzi* [Bon practitioners], and *nianjiangui*[33] [people who see ghosts] may all be present, performing rituals together to expel illnesses and ward off disasters for the host family.

The stories behind Figure 7 vividly illustrate the various influences on the Mangghuer family: (1) Chinese Confucian thought. Men pursued official status, girls had their feet bound and were betrothed at a young age, and unmarried women were not allowed to appear in public spaces, such as attending school. (2) Tibetan Buddhist thought. Old women often counted prayer beads with their fingers, and families with more than one son sent at least one to a Tibetan Buddhist monastery to be a monk. (3) Chinese Buddhist thought. Elderly women periodically visited their village temples to chant *mani*.

In Figure 7, my maternal grandmother, Lü Yingqing (1921-2018), is the first woman from the left. The two elders sitting in the center are Lü Yingqing's grandfather, Lü Chongde,

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[32] The Mangghuer use the term *huala* to refer to spirit mediums facilitating communication between their village deities and villagers. Local Han use *fala* and local Tibetans use *lha ba* (literally: deity person). Mangghuer pronounce the "f" sound in Chinese as "h." For the same reason, the Chinese term "*fashi*" is referred to as "*huashi*" in Mangghuer.

[33] "*Nianjiangui*" is the local Chinese dialect, with the Modern Standard Chinese pronunciation being "*yanjiangui*," literally 'eye see ghost'. *Nianjiangui* are believed to be able to see *dughuli* 'ghosts' and *mao yama* 'evil spirits' that ordinary people cannot perceive.

also known as Lü Gongye, and her grandmother, the old woman holding prayer beads and a cane. The boy standing in front of her grandparents is her youngest older brother. Others in the photo include her uncles, aunts, brother, sister-in-law, nephew, and niece.

Figure 7. A Mangghuer family with four generations in Sanfang Village, Guanting Town (1937, Zhuang Xueben in Li 2009:316).

Lü Chongde participated in the Gongsheng[34] imperial examination during the late Qing Dynasty earning the honorary title "Gongye" from locals. He later established a private school in Guanting, where all the male students studied Chinese and arithmetic. During the Republic of China period, Lü Gongye became the first principal[35] of the newly established government school in Guanting Town.

Later, a government school for girls was established in Guanting Town, and the education authorities mandated girls' education. However, local traditions did not support this initiative. Parents were hesitant to send their daughters to school. To address this resistance, Lü Gongye personally visited families with daughters to persuade parents to allow their girls to attend school and receive an education. His efforts were often met with irritation. One parent challenged him with, "You have a granddaughter. Why don't you let her go to school?"

To set an example, Lü Gongye enrolled his own granddaughter, Lü Yingqing, as the first female student at the girls' school.

At that time, Lü Yingqing, who later became my maternal grandmother, was already betrothed to Wang Tingying[36] (1911-1974) from Wangjia Village, Zhongchuan

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[34] *Gongsheng* 'tribute/selected student' refers to a rank of Confucian scholars in imperial China selected through the imperial examination system to receive advanced education or special appointments. *Gongsheng* were eligible to participate in the *xiangshi* 'provincial-level examination' and were recommended for further study at higher institutions such as the *guozijian* 'Imperial Academy' or directly for government positions. See (http://www.chinaknowledge.de/History/Terms/gongsheng.html, accessed 25 December 2024) for more details.

[35] Some people said he was the vice principal.

[36] Wang Tingying was his official name. His home name was Genshou. Traditionally, most Mangghuer had a *gerni niere* 'home name', and it was only when they started school that they were given a *xueku niere* 'school name' 'official name', which included their surname placed at the front. A home name was usually given by the paternal grandfather or paternal grandmother as a sign of respect toward the elders. Some children were named after the age of the person who named them. For example, a Wenjia villager was given the home name Bashi

Township. Her betrothed's family repeatedly urged her to marry, promising that she could continue schooling after the wedding. She eventually married into Wangjia Village after attending school for a few years. After her wedding, she commuted daily on a white mule to the girls' school in Guanting Town. However, the long distance and pregnancy ultimately forced her to discontinue her education. Nevertheless, she was the first female Mangghuer student in Sanchuan to learn to read and write.

When her youngest older brother (the boy in the photo) became a teenager, a relative of his family, who was a Tibetan Buddhist monk in Lhasa, took him to Lhasa, where he became a Buddhist monk. He returned home to visit his parents every one or two years. Each time he left for Lhasa, his mother made baked pancakes to take along as provisions for his journey. No matter how hungry he was during the trip, he always saved one pancake and carried it with him. Later, he told his sister, Lü Yingqing, "*Keji ger ma ananang sanaku, ana kanglasang kakernang ge hongtisa, kakerdi ana hongtilang* 'Whenever I missed our family and mother, I sniffed the baked pancake, and I could smell our mother's scent'." Every time Grandma talked about this, she would choke up, her eyes welling with tears.

He returned to Sanfang Village in his later years, where he lived until he passed away.

When my maternal grandmother spoke about this photo in 2009, she vividly recalled the events of the day it was taken and expressed regret that her parents were not included in the photo. She explained that her mother had gone to Guandi

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because his paternal grandfather was eighty years old when he was born, so his grandfather named him Bashi 'eighty'. When he started school, he was given an official name, Wen Xiulin. If they did not attend school, their official name was typically their surname followed by their home name. However, even after receiving an official name, family members, relatives, and villagers continued to address them by their home name. Official names were used in formal contexts, such as registering for identification cards, marriage certificates, student records, medical records, contracts, and reserving hotel rooms and transportation tickets.

Temple (Figure 12) to *mani tuoluo* 'chant *mani*' that day and could not participate in the photo session. Consequently, her father refused to be in the photo because his wife was absent.

This photo also showcases the Mangghuer traditional carved wooden houses and differences in the hairstyles, attire, and adornments of unmarried, married, and elderly women. Married women, unlike unmarried women, traditionally wore elaborate headdresses in buns, long earrings, intricately embroidered silk clothing, and decorative cuffs attached to the sleeves. Elderly women's silk clothing lacked embroidery or had very little, and their hair was wrapped in a *baotou* 'black silk rectangular headscarf'.

Mangghuer religious beliefs have not been continuous. Religious beliefs labeled as "feudal superstitions" were strictly suppressed by the central government following the founding of New China. During a subsequent campaign to destroy the "Four Olds,"[37] religious venues in Sanchuan, including monasteries and village temples, were demolished, closed, or repurposed for non-religious uses, such as meeting rooms or communal dining halls. All religious activities were banned, and religious practitioners including monks returned to their villages to participate in agricultural labor.

My maternal grandfather, Wang Tingying, was classified as a "rich peasant" during the Land Reform Campaign in 1950. Almost all his property - including grain, houses, livestock, and farmland - was confiscated. After enduring over twenty years of various political campaigns, he passed away in March 1974 at his home in Wangjia Village. Traditionally, when a member of a Mangghuer family passed away, Mangghuer monks from local monasteries were invited to the deceased's home to chant Tibetan Buddhist scriptures. However, at that time, local Buddhist monasteries had been demolished, and the monks had been expelled to engage in farming.

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[37] Old ideas, culture, customs, and habits (https://depts.washington.edu/chinaciv/graph/9wenge.htm, accessed 25 December 2024).

My eldest maternal uncle secretly visited my father's home in Wenjia Village the night my maternal grandfather passed away. Through my father, he communicated with one of my father's uncles, who had been a monk at Wenjia Tibetan Buddhist Monastery before 1949. After explaining that he wanted to invite two monks to chant scriptures for his just-deceased father, my father's uncle called over a former monk friend. My maternal uncle and father decided to escort the two former monks to Wangjia Village discreetly.

Before setting out, they agreed that my maternal uncle and father would walk along the road, while the two former monks, dressed in layman's clothes, would sneak through the farmlands and woods beside the roadside. If they encountered any village patrols, my maternal uncle or father would cough as a signal for the former monks to stop and remain silent. With that, the four set off quietly.

Upon entering Wangjia Village, my maternal uncle, a long-time smoker, felt an itch in his throat and accidentally coughed, forgetting their agreement. The two former monks heard the cough, thought someone was coming, and immediately ran off. My maternal uncle and father realized the monks had misunderstood, but, afraid of being heard by villagers, dared not shout to explain there was no patrol. Instead, they quietly chased the monks. Since it was dark, the monks could not see who were chasing them and thought the village patrols were after them, so they ran even faster. Not until they had gotten far from the village did my maternal uncle and father feel safe enough to shout, identifying themselves to the monks. Only then did the monks realize the misunderstanding and stop running. Having run for such a long time in the dark and being extremely nervous, all four were utterly exhausted. After resting a while, they quietly continued on their way to my maternal grandfather's home.

Upon reaching my grandfather's home, the two former monks climbed up a ladder to the roof, where they chanted scriptures for my deceased grandfather in a low voice, in fear that someone might unexpectedly visit and report the presence

of two monks to the village patrols or township government. To prevent neighbors from hearing the bells used by monks while chanting scriptures, the monks wrapped them in a cloth, hoping the sound would not carry to neighbors.

Religious venues and activities gradually revived after the implementation of the Reform and Opening-Up Policy in 1978. This revival included the reconstruction and restoration of monasteries and village temples, as well as the revival of traditional ceremonies. Later, most monks, including my father's uncle, returned to the monasteries, although some had married, had children, and become laypeople.

Tibetan Buddhism

Mangghuer monks from local Tibetan Buddhist monasteries participate in various religious ceremonies within the monasteries, as well as in funerals[38] and other memorial events for the deceased at Mangghuer homes, where they chant Tibetan Buddhist scriptures. Serving the deceased is a primary function of Tibetan Buddhism in the Mangghuer area. Additionally, some families invite monks to their homes during the Spring Festival period to chant *Pingnan Jing* 'safety scripture' for peace, safety, and protection from illness and disaster in the coming year. If an infant (usually a boy) was weak and frequently ill, the parents would consult a living Buddha or a highly respected senior monk in a local monastery to have the child named according to Tibetan Buddhist scriptures. It was believed that this practice would bless the child with health and a prosperous life. Consequently, some Mangghuer men still bore Tibetan names in 2025,[39] such as Luozang, Zhaxi, Cairang, Danzeng, Narwu, Zangwu,[40] Suonan,

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[38] For more on the Minhe Mangghuer funeral, see Stuart and Hu (1993). See Zhu and Stuart (1999) for Mangghuer funeral orations.
[39] I never heard of Mangghuer women with Tibetan names.
[40] A man from Wenjia Village was recognized as an incarnation lama at birth and given the name Zangwu by Gexi Laoye, a Mangghuer living Buddha from Nuojie Village, though he later did not become a lama. *Gexi* (*Geshe*) is an academic title in Tibetan Buddhism. *Laoye*

and Dalai.[41]

Several villages generally shared a Tibetan Buddhist monastery where monks were of the Mangghuer ethnicity. Examples include Ghada Ximian 'Cliff Tibetan Buddhist Monastery'[42] in Wushi Valley, Guanting Town, Wenjia Ximian 'Wenjia Tibetan Buddhist Monastery' and Zhujia Ximian 'Zhuajia Tibetan Buddhist Monastery' in Wenjia Village and Zhujia Village, Zhongchuan Township.

Ghada Ximian is also known as Wushighuer Ximian 'Wushi Valley Monastery', Nai'er Si 'Cliff Monastery', Nai Si 'Cliff Monastery', and Maojia Si 'Maojia Monastery', and supported by the residents of Wushi Ghuer 'Wushi Valley'. According to Nian and Bai (1993), Ghada Ximian's Tibetan name was Wushi Zhihe Gongqin Xiazhi Qunke Lin, meaning "Wushi Cliff Great Teaching and Dharma Practice Wheel Island." Local oral tradition suggested the monastery was first built in the seventh year of the Hongwu Reign (1374) of the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644). However, *The Political and Religious History of Amdo* recorded that the monastery was established during the Wanli Reign (1573-1620) of the Ming Dynasty by Axiang Manzhushili, a monk from Sangluokang Village, Drepung Monastery, with the prophecy and approval of the Third Dalai Lama, Sonam Gyatso (1543-1588).

Before 1958, the monastery had six tiers of halls and 219 *mu*[43] of non-irrigable farmland, eight horses, six mules, fifty cattle, and housed ninety-five monks. Parts of the monastery were dismantled in 1963. The monastery was reopened in 1981 and had one scripture-chanting hall with five rooms, thirteen

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'lord/master' is a Chinese term which, in Mangghuer, means "living Buddha" or "deity."

[41] Although Mangghuer consider *dalai* to be a Tibetan term, it originates from Mongolian. In everyday Mangghuer conversation, the word *dalai* appears frequently. In Mangghuer, it means "very much" or "a lot." For example: *Gandu qier dalaige hujiang* 'He was given a lot of money'. *Bi qimeisa dalai wenduer bang* 'I am much taller than you'.

[42] Mangghuer use *ximian* or *ximie* to refer to Buddhist monasteries and mosques. The term for "mosque" in the Mangghuer language is *saotuer ximie* or *saotuer ximian*.

[43] One hectare equals fifteen Chinese *mu*.

monk dormitories, and accommodated sixteen monks and one incarnation lama, Ku Luozang. He was Mangghuer, born in 1919, with a senior middle school education, and previously served as the vice-chairman of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC) Minhe County Committee. In 1993, the monastery's devotees included 1,500 households, primarily from local Mangghuer and Han ethnic groups. Every year, on the fourteenth day of the second month, the entire monastery gathered for a ten-day scripture-chanting, during which traditional Buddhist dance performances were held (Nian and Bai 1993:93).

There were ten Gelugpa monks in Ghada Ximian in 2015 (Smith 2017:177).

Ghada Ximian also served the fertility wishes of laypeople. The monastery had a wooden chest with a hole. Inside were infants' shoes. Local married women without children reached into the chest and randomly took a shoe. If they pulled out a boy's shoe, it was believed to predict the birth of a son; if they pulled out a girl's shoe, it indicated the birth of a daughter.

After drawing an infant shoe, the woman was expected to go straight home, without stopping anywhere, and hang it up in her bedroom. If their wish was fulfilled and they gave birth to a child, they made a pair of infant shoes matching the child's gender and took them to the monastery as an offering of gratitude. The monastery monks placed the newly donated infant shoes into the chest for future seekers.

Mangghuer people praying for children at local Tibetan Buddhist monasteries, such as Ghada Ximian, was also mentioned by Russian scholar Grigorij Potanin in his notes from his 1884 visit to the Sanchuan area.

They go and steal shoes from the goddess, Green Tara, in the monasteries of Ghada Monastery and Lozha Dong if no children are born and replace the stolen shoe with money. For this eventuality, there is always a stock of small children's shoes in a special cavity under the goddess's

statue. If they accidentally find a discarded child's shoe on the road, they hide it in a sleeve and take it home, for it is a lucky find, and they believe that a child will be born after this (Potanin 2015:174).

Wenjia Ximian, also known as Guang'hua Si 'Guang'hua Monastery', served the residents of Wenjia, Qijia, Yangjia, Majia, Nuojie/Ejia, and Ganjia villages. Its Tibetan name, Zhaxi Qiongpei Lin, means "Auspicious and Vast Dharma Land." It was said to have been founded by Lama Quezang during the Qing Dynasty and underwent repairs in the twenty-sixth year of the Guangxu era (1900). It was a medium-sized Mangghuer monastery in Zhongchuan Township that governed Wangjia Ximian 'Wangjia Monastery'. Before 1958, the monastery had one scripture-chanting hall with forty-two rooms, 324 monk dormitories, and 200 monks, including one incarnation lama, Yang Luozang, a Mangghuer born in 1935. The monastery was closed during the Religious Reform of 1958 and reopened in 1962. Five monks returned to the monastery. It was closed again in 1977. In 1981, it reopened, and in 1985, one scripture-chanting hall with thirty-five rooms and fifty-five monk dormitories were rebuilt, accommodating thirty-three monks. Monk Wen Zhaxi served as a member of the CPPCC of Minhe County and a director of the county's Buddhist Association. The original incarnation lama, Yang Luozang, resided at Kumbum Monastery. The monastery's devotees mainly came from nearby villages with approximately 212 households and over 1,000 Mangghuer in 1993 (Nian and Bai 1993:101).

There were fifteen Gelugpa monks in Wenjia Ximian in 2000 (Smith 2017:177).

Zhujia Ximian belonged to Zhujia Bahu 'Eight Clans of Zhujia Village': Zhujiacher/Zhujiacheng, Shangtang, Guangfang, Erfang, Sifang, Wangshighuer, Paijia/Baijia, and Wuzhangjia. According to Nian and Bai (1993), it was also known as Wanzong Baofo Si 'Monastery of Ten Thousand Treasured Buddhas'. Its Tibetan name was Zhaxi Gadan De'erji Lin, meaning "Auspicious Land of Joy and Happiness." Maolan

Hutuketu initially established the monastery during the reign of Emperor Xuantong (1909-1912) of the Qing Dynasty. By 1993, it had about 300 devotee households. Before 1958, the monastery had 280 rooms, including scripture-chanting halls and monk dormitories, 128 *mu* of farmland, and thirty-seven monks. It was closed during the Cultural Revolution. In March 1981, the monastery reopened, and in 1983, a new scripture-chanting hall with three rooms and twenty-five monk dormitory rooms were rebuilt, with twelve monks. The monastery held a Tibetan Buddhist ritual annually on the fifth day of the first month, accompanied by scripture chanting and Buddhist dance performances (Nian and Bai 1993:100).

There were twelve Gelugpa monks in Zhujia Ximian in 2015 (Smith 2017:177).

Chinese Buddhism

The Mangghuer area had no Chinese Buddhist monasteries in 2025. Chinese Buddhist practitioners were male and female lay villagers over the age of sixty, known as *maniqi* 'people who chant *mani*'. The *maniqi* typically wore black or dark blue *dalian* 'robes', with men wearing hats and women wearing *khara toujin* 'black kerchiefs' or *baotou* 'black headscarves', when participating in a *mani tuoluo* 'chant *mani*' ritual. They regularly gathered in their village temples to chant *mani* on each month's[44] first, eighth, and fifteenth day. They chanted *mani ganben* in Chinese characters in *mani tuoluo* rituals. The *maniqi* were also invited to chant *mani* at villagers' homes during weddings, funerals, memorial rituals for the deceased, sixtieth-birthday banquets, and other celebrations.

Participation in a *maniqi* group was voluntary and flexible. Once someone reached the age of sixty, they could become a *maniqi* and join a *mani* group at any time without formal initiation. They were also free to leave the group whenever they were unable to participate in *mani tuoluo* rituals

[44] Mangghuer use the Chinese lunisolar calendar. In this book I write "month" rather than "lunisolar month" for the sake of brevity.

due to age or physical limitations. If a *maniqi* became ill or had urgent personal matters, they could skip a particular *mani tuoluo* ritual without seeking permission and rejoin future *mani* rituals once they were ready.

The *maniqi* had no dietary restrictions. The only expectations, which were somewhat informal, were to do good deeds, avoid harming others, refrain from quarrels, and resist impure thoughts.

The age of sixty was traditionally regarded as the minimum threshold for a Mangghuer to become a *maniqi* for several reasons. First, according to customary marriage practices, by the age of sixty, one's children had typically already married. Only after all their children were married did Mangghuer parents consider themselves to have fulfilled their parental duties, making them eligible to pursue a spiritual life as a *maniqi*. Second, by that age, most individuals no longer engaged in strenuous farm labor, and household tasks such as cooking and cleaning were usually taken over by daughters-in-law, allowing them more time to participate in religious activities. Third and most importantly, by this stage of life, men's sexual desires had generally diminished, and women had reached menopause. In traditional Mangghuer beliefs, sexual desire was regarded as an impure thought, and menstrual blood was seen as defiling and offensive to deities, both in contradiction to the ideals of purity upheld by *maniqi*.

Taoism

Sanchuan Mangghuer Taoist priests were known as *yinyang*,[45] a Chinese term. All *yinyang* were male, married, had children, and generally lived in their own homes. There were no Taoist temples in Sanchuan in 2024. *Yinyang* were consulted to identify the most auspicious dates for weddings and coffin burials; select optimal times for conducting various rituals during weddings and funerals, such as the moment a bride left her natal home and the ideal time for burying a coffin; decide

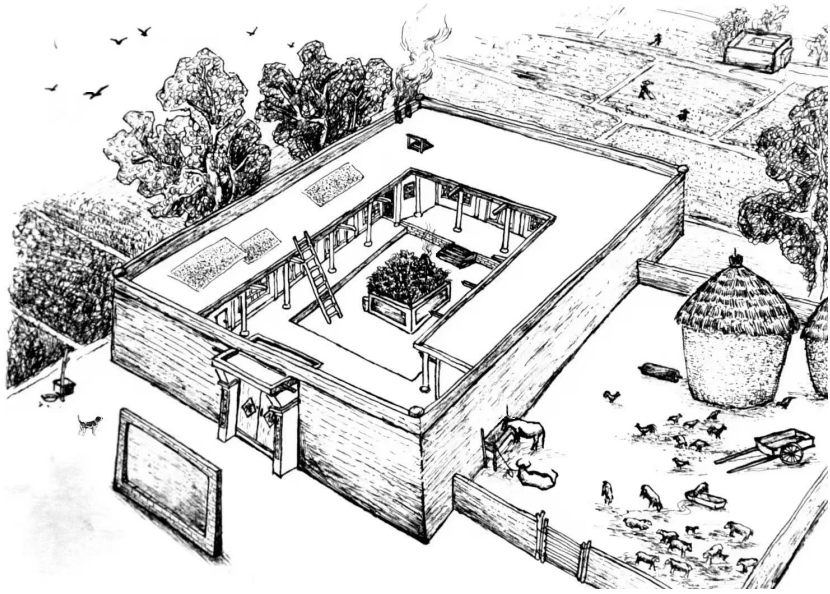
[45] See Wen (2011) for more on the Mangghuer *yinyang*.

the start date for constructing a new house; determine the correct location and orientation of a new house or a new grave using a *luojing* (Figure 8) featuring intricate graduations and directional markers; identify the orientation of the main gate for a newly built courtyard (Figure 9); and inscribe the deceased's name on a coffin.

A *yinyang*'s tasks required literacy, so only those with knowledge of the Chinese language could become *yinyang*. Before the 1960s, very few Mangghuer had access to formal education so the literacy requirement posed an insurmountable barrier for many who aspired to become a *yinyang*.

Figure 8. A *luojing* was used by *yinyang* to determine the correct location and orientation of a new courtyard, house, or grave (3 February 2017, Li County, Longnan City, Gansu Province, Cheng Liang).

Figure 9. A traditional Mangghuer courtyard. The main room, facing south, serves as both the reception room and the bedroom for family elders. In the courtyard center is a platform about 150 centimeters high, with flowers growing on top and a *benba*[46] buried underneath. In front of the courtyard gate is a wall known as *zhaobi*, which serves to block the outflow of the family's wealth and prevent misfortune from entering the courtyard. The roof can be used to dry grains (2009, created by Wen Xiangcheng).



Shamanism

Mangghuer shamanic practitioners included *huala*, *fashi*, and *nianjiangui*. *Huala* and *fashi* were typically male. During fieldwork in Mangghuer communities, I encountered only one female *huala* in Zhaomuchuan, Guanting Town, in 2009. She claimed to be a *huala* of Erlang Ye, and said the spirit of Erlang Ye had possessed her many times. However, villagers did not seem to recognize her as a genuine *huala*.

[46] An earthenware jar containing grains, spices, and paper inscribed with Tibetan Buddhist mantras and scriptures.

In contrast, *nianjiangui* were predominantly female. I noted only one male *nianjiangui* in Baojia Shawar Village, Guanting Town, during my search for such practitioners in Sanchuan from 2008 to 2010.

These shamanic practitioners led lives similar to other villagers outside their ceremonial roles. They resided in village homes, married, raised children, engaged in agricultural work, and sometimes traveled outside Sanchuan to do labor work to make money.

▪ *Huala*

Each village had a temple dedicated to the deities of their beliefs, which could be classified as Chinese folk religion. Such deities included Huozhou Didi/Erlang Ye, Silang Ye, Suojie Ye, Mojie Ye, Heichi Ye, Niangniang Ye, and others. Some clans also had family deities, such as Duerma Di/Yangguru Danjian, a family deity riding a goat worshiped by some Wenjia villagers.

A village temple might enshrine multiple deities, but there was only one *miaoshen* 'temple deity', the highest-ranking deity in the temple. Each *miaoshen* had its own representative, known as a *huala*.

Huala served as spirit mediums, intermediaries between local deities and villagers, conveying the deities' will to the communities. Each *huala* represented their *miaoshen* and had his primary, unchanging duty of performing during their village's annual Nadun Festival.[47] During the performance, the *huala* was believed to be possessed by the *miaoshen*, entering a trance-like state known in Mangghuer as *dizi bao* '(the deity's) spirit falls (on the *huala*'s body)'. In this state, the *huala*

[47] A series of celebrations for good harvest annually held by the Mangghuer between the twelfth day of the seventh lunar month and the fifteenth day of the ninth lunar month. Nadun was held successively in different villages, each with a fixed date for its celebration. This was called Duolong Sara Nadun 'seven moon Nadun' in Potanin (2015:173), though I never heard this term used in Sanchuan. It might have been an older name for Nadun. See Stuart and Hu (1993) and Roche (2011; 2015) for more on Nadun.

delivered their *miaoshen*'s will to villagers, speaking in a distinctive tone different from their usual speech.

Before performing at the annual Nadun Festival, *huala* needed to undertake specific preparatory rituals including bathing and cleansing themselves, often using water infused with juniper leaves, as local beliefs held that juniper had the power to dispel impurities. They also abstained from sexual activity for at least three days before performing, as sex was culturally considered impure. Additionally, *huala* refrained from consuming foods with strong odors before performing, such as animal offal, garlic, onions, and Chinese chives, as these pungent smells were believed to offend the deities when they possessed the *huala*. Some *huala* avoided such foods in their daily lives. If their bodies were not sufficiently cleansed when the deities possessed them, they might experience great discomfort - interpreted as punishment for failing to prepare a clean body for the deity's possession.

Evil spirits were considered entities that could be subdued by deities. Consequently, *huala* were also invited to villagers' homes to treat illnesses, most commonly those related to mental health, which were believed to be caused by evil spirits. In such cases, they often collaborated with *yinyang* and *nianjiangui*. The *yinyang* identified the evil spirit causing the illness, while the *nianjiangui*, who could see ghosts and evil spirits, guided the *huala* in capturing them. The *huala* then collected the ghost or evil spirit into a *yima tulong* 'goatskin bag' that was burned in an uninhabited area or buried and suppressed with a *benba* in a remote location.

Compared to practitioners of other religions, such as Tibetan Buddhist monks, *yinyang*, and *fashi*, who became formal clergy through study and training, *huala* were individuals chosen by the *miaoshen*. A man could not decide to become a *huala*, nor did the role require study or training. Becoming a *huala* was a passive process, determined by the *miaoshen*, who selected their representatives.

Typically, when a *huala* became too old to continue performing, the *miaoshen* chose a man from the old *huala*'s

family to be a new *huala* during the village's Nadun Festival. This man could be the old *huala*'s son, nephew, or grandson. Age or marital status was irrelevant. The sign that the *miaoshen* had chosen someone to become a *huala* was when the person suddenly began to feel faint, followed by body tremors, entering a trance-like state, and then abruptly jumping up to start performing.

Some families of newly chosen *huala* thought being a *huala* was great suffering and did not want the man to take on this role, so they tied a woman's kerchief around the new *huala*'s waist, kept him at home, or even bound him to a pillar in the house to prevent him from going to the Nadun site. The *miaoshen*, considering the body unclean due to the woman's kerchief, would not possess it. However, it was rare for such methods to prevent the deity-chosen man from becoming a *huala*. Locals believed that refusing to fulfill the role after being chosen by the *miaoshen* would result in the man dying unexpectedly or suffering from lifelong illnesses.

Before 2000, each village deity possessed at least one *huala*. Later, after the death of old *huala*, it was unusual to see a new *huala* emerge. Most village deities had no *huala* in 2024. Some locals believed that with the advancement of science, village deities' power had weakened, so few *huala* emerged. Other villagers believed this was because youth generally lacked faith in village deities.

▪ *Fashi*

Fashi were hereditary religious practitioners, with each *fashi* family having an ancestral deity. When a *fashi* grew old, he selected a successor from their family or clan to inherit his role, trained the new *fashi* at home, and took them to participate in *fashi* activities. Unlike the selection of a new *huala*, who was chosen by the *miaoshen* without the successor's prior knowledge or training, the selection of a new *fashi* was decided by the old *fashi*. It required the consent of the candidate and his parents. Before becoming a *fashi*, the successor had to learn

necessary *fashi* knowledge and dances from the old *fashi*, which might take several years to master.

In the Mangghuer area, *fashi* activities were relatively rare. Only a few village temples, such as the Xinjia Village Temple, annually invited *fashi* on specific dates to perform for their *miaoshen*. Consequently, there were few Mangghuer *fashi*. For example, in 2024, the current *fashi* of the Nanjia *fashi* lineage, Nan Wangbaoyuan, had not found a successor because none of the younger generations in his clan were willing to accept the role. If no one from his clan agreed to inherit the position, Nan Wangbaoyuan would be the last *fashi* in his family lineage.

Fashi donned wigs, wore costumes featuring traditionally feminine elements such as embroidery and skirts, played sheepskin drums, and imitated feminine movements in their dances during performances. Some men with deeply rooted traditional patriarchal views refused to sit at the same table with *fashi*, as they perceived *fashi* to have feminine attributes.

▪ *Nianjiangui*

The *nianjiangui*'s ability to see ghosts and evil spirits might have been an innate gift or an unexpected acquisition at some point in life. Becoming a *nianjiangui* was not a choice, much like with *huala*. No one could become a *nianjiangui* just because they wanted to. However, unlike *huala* and *fashi*, a *nianjiangui* had no family inheritance nor was there prescribed professional conduct for such a role.

A locally well-known *nianjiangui* from Gangou Township had a daughter who married, moved into her husband's home in a distant village, and eventually became seriously ill for several months. One morning just before dawn, as she lay in bed, her window suddenly opened, and her daughter's soul appeared to bid her farewell. She understood at that moment that her daughter had passed away. Without hesitation, she got up and began steaming *manteng*, a type of

steamed bread traditionally used as a gift for weddings and funerals. A man from her daughter's husband's clan arrived at the time she finished steaming *manteng* to inform her that her daughter had passed away just before dawn.

Animism and Other Beliefs

The influence of animism was common in Mangghuer daily life. Fire was believed to possess the power to dispel evil. Various practices reflecting this belief included the following:

1] The Mangghuer Torch Festival on the fifteenth day of the first month. A torch was lit at home, carried briefly through each room, and then brought to a nearby hilltop or crossroads to be burned. Mangghuer believed lit torches drove away evil spirits and misfortune from their homes.
2] Weddings. A fire was lit outside the groom's courtyard gate upon the bride's arrival to ward off evil spirits she might have brought.
3] Funerals. When a coffin was carried for burial, households along the route lit fires outside their courtyard gates to prevent the deceased's spirit from entering their homes. Upon returning from a funeral, participants lit fires outside their own courtyard gates before stepping inside to ensure evil spirits that might have followed them would remain outside.
4] Post-childbirth. A fire was lit outside the courtyard gate to signal others not to enter to protect the weakened mother and newborn from potential harm brought by visitors.
5] Livestock. When a piglet was purchased and brought home from the market, a fire was lit outside the courtyard gate to promote its healthy growth.

Examples of animism and other beliefs:

1] Every village had its own sacred mountain *wobo* 'cairn'.[48] Locals believed *wobo* could protect their crops from storms, hail, and bad winds.

2] Locals believed immortals resided in Shenxian Nuer 'Immortal Lake' (known as Mengda Tianchi[49] in Chinese),[50] located in nearby Qingshui Township,[51] Xunhua Salar Autonomous County. Elders went there to kowtow and pray when I was a child.

3] Some old trees were believed to be inhabited by evil spirits or ghosts. For example, a centuries-old *xijuesi bughe* 'willow tree' in Hulijia Village, Zhongchuan Township, was believed to be possessed by a powerful evil spirit (Figure 15). Locals avoided it after sunset.

4] Mangghuer believed that *shigheba* 'cypress' was sacred and had the power to ward off evil spirits. Cypress leaves were often burned in monasteries and Mangghuer households. A coffin made entirely of cypress wood was considered the highest grade. However, if a family could not afford a coffin made entirely of cypress, they would at least include one cypress plank.

5] Moving a flowering tree, such as an apricot or peach, especially during flowering, might harm the host because flowering trees were thought to possess spirits.

6] Peach wood was believed to repel evil spirits. Some brides held peach branches on the way to the groom's home at night.

7] A peachwood bow was hung outside the courtyard gate to signal to others a sick person was in the home. This helped prevent casual visitors from entering and disturbing the

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[48] For more, see Chuluu Üjiyediin and Stuart (1995), which mentions the Minhe Mangghuer.

[49] *Tian* 'heaven' 'sky' *chi* 'lake', thus *tianchi* 'mountaintop lake'.

[50] For a short story about this lake from a Mangghuer perspective, see Bao (1990).

[51] Shenxian Nuer was in Mengda Township, which became part of Qingshui Township in 2006.

patient's rest, while also warding off evil spirits that might worsen the patient's condition.

8] *Gha qijighe* 'stellera flowers' were believed to cause dishes to break if brought home.

9] Certain springs, such as Mani Buleghe 'Mani Spring' located near Wenjia Monastery in Zhongchuan Township, were regarded as sacred, with their water collected for offerings to deities. Some elders drank water brought from these springs before they were about to pass away.

10] Children were warned not to urinate in water. It was believed this would cause *yara* 'sores' to appear on their mother's breasts.

11] Defecating by the roadside was thought to cause *taolai tuerber* 'rabbit warts'[52] on the eyelids.

12] Pointing at the moon with a finger was taboo in fear the moon would cut off the offender's ears.

13] Placing one's pants under the pillow at night was thought to prevent nightmares.

14] Stepping over metal tools like axes, sickles, and knives was believed to cause accidental cuts when used later.

15] During funerals, cats were closely monitored to ensure they did not crawl under the coffin that had been placed on stools. Such an incident was believed to frighten the deceased's soul, hindering their reincarnation as a human.

16] Hitting a cat with chopsticks was avoided, as it was believed this act would cause the cat to bring a snake into the house.

17] Multiple people picking head lice off one person at the same time could cause the person to be attacked by wolves when outside.

18] Defecating in livestock pens, especially by women, was forbidden, as it was thought to prevent livestock from reproducing.

19] A dog howling sadly while facing away from its master's home was considered harmless, while howling sadly while facing its master's home signaled impending misfortune.

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[52] A wart that grows on the eyelid was called a "rabbit wart."

20] The call of a crow or an owl near someone's home foretold misfortune, while a magpie's call signaled a guest's arrival.
21] A bird defecating on a person's clothes or hat was considered a *mao tiandighe* 'bad omen'. Sewing a cross with red thread on the affected spot was believed to counteract the misfortune.
22] Sewing a button on clothing while wearing it was avoided. If unavoidable, holding a straw in the mouth was thought to prevent *zhuergeni shidige* 'sewing one's heart' and becoming foolish.

Christianity

I first became aware of Mangghuer Christians around 2000. Christian followers gathered in a private home - there was no church. The majority of Mangghuer Christian believers I knew were illiterate, and many suffered from chronic or terminal illnesses.

To help believers understand Jesus, a voice-over in Mangghuer was recorded for *The Jesus Film*, directed by Peter Sykes and John Krish in 1979, and a Mangghuer title was added.[53]

[53] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YRTWOzBoGto, accessed 25 December 2024.

Figure 10. Huozhou Didi/Erlang Ye Temple, Zhujia Village, Zhongchuan Township (1937, Zhuang Xueben in Li 2009:296) was destroyed during political movements after the establishment of New China. A new temple was built on the original site in the 1980s after the Reform and Opening-up Policy was implemented.

Figure 11. Mangghuer at a Tibetan Buddhist event held at Wenjia Monastery on the sixth day of the first month (1934, Carter D Holton).[54]

[54]https://images.hollis.harvard.edu/permalink/f/100kie6/HVD_VIA8001559428, accessed 22 September 2023. The description reads in part, "The market outside of a Tibetan Buddhist temple gate (Youning Monastery), food peddlers, people, trees, hill, the city wall, Youning Lamasery, Huzhu County, Qinghai, 1940. Historical: 佑宁寺院外面的集市. Related site(s): Huzhu County. 青海互助县. Region: CHINGHAI OR KANSU." However, the monastery's environment and the still-standing (2024) city wall on the hill behind the monastery in the photo indicate this is Wenjia Buddhist Monastery in Zhongchuan Township, Minhe County. The home where I grew up was near this monastery, so I am familiar with the surroundings. The monastery in the photo was destroyed in the 1950s. A new monastery was later built on the original site, but the environment did not change significantly. I visited Youning Monastery twice and am confident this is not Youning Monastery.

Figure 12. Guandi Miao 'Guandi Temple', Sanfang Village, Guanting Town (1934, Carter D Holton).[55]

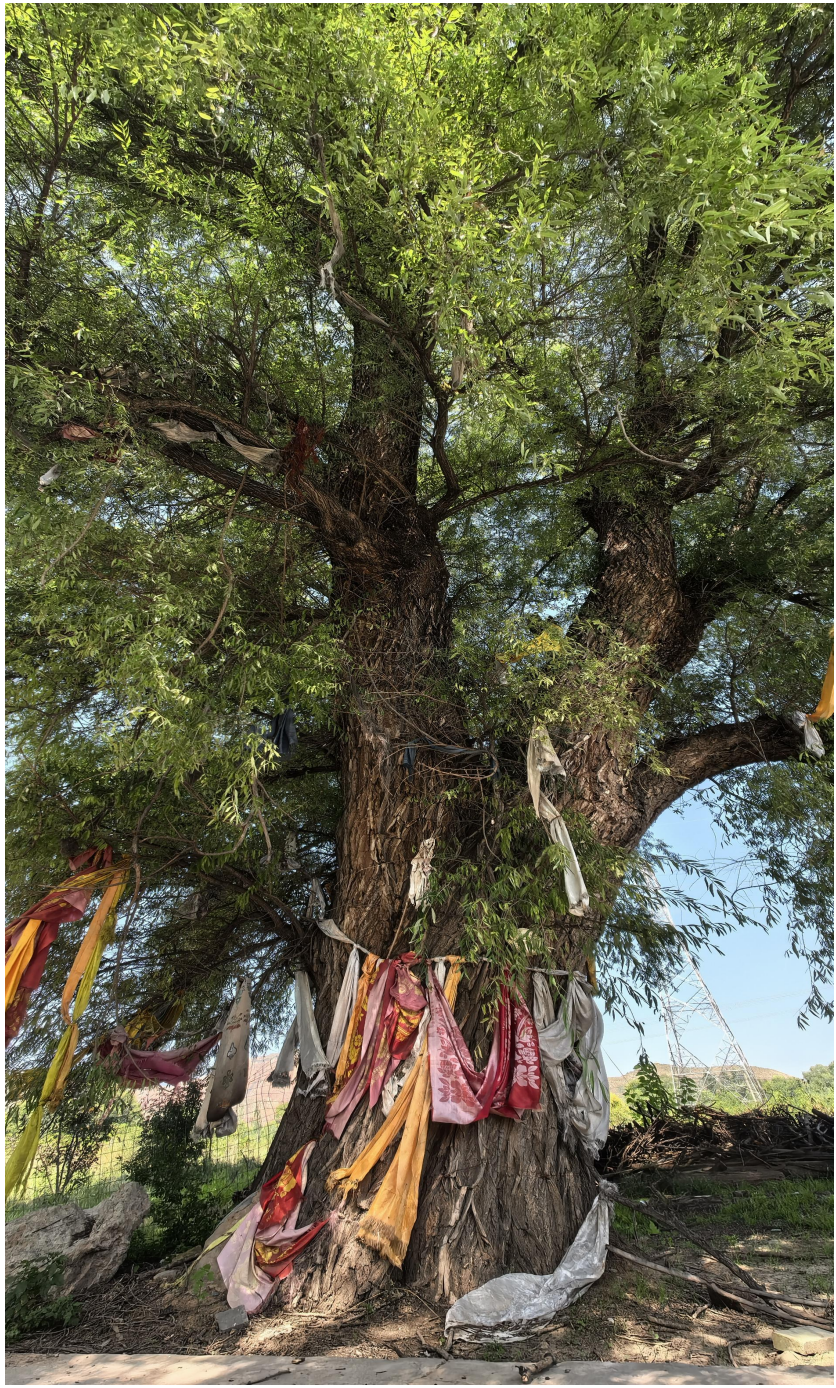
[55]https://images.hollis.harvard.edu/permalink/f/100kie6/HVD_VIA8001556305, accessed 22 September 2023. The title of this picture is: "A Buddhist temple, outside of the Northern Gate of Hezhou City, trees, Hezhou (Hochow), Gansu, 1933. 河州北关门外的佛教寺庙. Related site(s): Hezhou. 甘肃河州. Region: CHINGHAI. Environs: SHUNHUA, NR." However, Zhuang Xueben's photos and notes about Guandi Temple, and a painting of Guandi Temple by a Mangghuer elder, confirm the temple in the photo is Guandi Temple that was once located in Sanfang Village, Guanting Town. Guandi Temple enshrined Guan Yu (?-220), a general of the Kingdom of Shu Han (221-263) during the Three Kingdoms period (220-280AD). The Guandi Temple in Guanting Town was destroyed in 1950s and not rebuilt.

Figure 13. The sedan chair of Suojie Ye, the deity of Wenjia and Yangjia villages, is placed on a *shiri* table on the Wuyue Dangwu Day 'the Dragon Boat Festival' (28 May 2009, Wenjia Village, Wen Xiangcheng).

Figure 14. Ganjia Village Temple, where Mojie Longwang and Niangniang Ye are enshrined (October 2010, Ganjia Village, Zhongchuan Township, Wen Xiangcheng).[56]

[56] The hill behind the temple did not collapse, and the temple was not damaged from a 6.2-magnitude earthquake on 18 December 2023. Some locals attributed this to the deities' power.

Figure 15. A centuries-old *xijuesi bughe* 'willow tree' was considered possessed by a powerful evil spirit (October 2010, Hulijia Village, Zhongchuan Township, Wen Xiangcheng).



Ancestor Worship

Ancestor worship was an important belief among the Mangghuer. A person did not simply vanish into nothingness after death. Instead, they acquired power they lacked in their lifetime, such as the ability to bless their descendants with prosperity and the flourishing of their family line. They could also bring harm through illness or disaster. If clan members achieved success, such as becoming high-ranking officials or their children attending prestigious universities, it was believed to be due to the ancestors' grace. Historically, young couples who were childless or lacked a son believed they might have one if they visited their ancestors' graveyard, knelt, and made a wish for a child. Conversely, if the descendants disrespected their ancestors' graves, metal objects such as nails or shovels were accidentally left in an ancestor's grave, or water seeped into a coffin, their ancestors could bring illness or disaster to the family.

In addition to complex funeral rituals, numerous ancestor-worshiping activities were observed in Mangghuer communities, including *duolang* 'memorial rituals held every seven days for a total of forty-nine days after a person's death', *beitian/baitian* 'memorial ritual held on the hundredth day after a person's death', *zhounian/huang*[57] 'death anniversary', Hanshi 'Cold Food' Day,[58] and Qingming Day.[59] Monks from

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[57] "*Huang*" in Mangghuer refers to "year." For example, *nie huang* 'this year', *dani huang* 'last year', *tie huang* 'that year'.

[58] According to the Chinese lunisolar calendar, Hanshi was observed for ancestor worship on the 105th day after the winter solstice. Making a fire on this day was prohibited, and only cold food was eaten. However, Han Chinese in the Sanchuan area did not observe this day. Mangghuer preserved certain elements of this tradition, although there were no restrictions on, for example, not making fires and only eating cold food. Instead, *chersi* and *shangkuo* were burned to honor the ancestors.

[59] *Qingming* is the fifth solar term among the Chinese twenty-four solar terms and is also a traditional day for ancestor worship, often referred to as Tomb-Sweeping Day. It generally falls between April fourth and sixth of the Gregorian calendar.

local Tibetan Buddhist monasteries were invited to chant scriptures during a person's funeral, *duolang*, *beitian/baitian*, and *zhounian*.

Ancestors were also worshiped during certain traditional festivals such as Zhengyue 'Lunar New Year', Zhengyue Shiwu 'Chinese Lantern Festival', Nadun Festival, and significant family events like children's weddings.

The Mangghuer practice of ancestor worship was generally referred to as *chersi xida* 'burning paper' because the most common offering in ancestor worship was *xidaku chersi* 'paper for burning', or simply *chersi* 'paper'. Ancestor worship offerings also included *shangkuo* 'thin baked or fried rhombus-shaped pancakes burned for the deceased', *qianliang* 'paper cuttings representing money and grain', *teghao*[60] 'roosters', *kheghai* 'pigs', *khuoni* 'sheep', *gha* 'bowls of food', *duruasi* 'liquor', *yan* 'cigarettes', *huaquan* 'paper flower wreaths specially for the deceased', *guji* 'incense sticks', *paozher* 'firecrackers', and *huapao* 'fireworks'.

Hanshi and Qingming were the two most solemn among the ancestor worship activities mentioned above. Elders, such as my grandmothers, referred to both Hanshi and Qingming as *chunshe* or *she*.[61] Since Hanshi and Qingming days are close in time, Mangghuer typically worshiped their ancestors on either Hanshi or Qingming - not both. The choice of which day to observe for ancestor worship depended on each clan's traditions. The rituals and offerings of ancestor worship were the same on both days.

Ancestor worship offerings during Hanshi and Qingming are described in more detail below:

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[60] The Mangghuer term "*teghao*" refers broadly to chickens; however, in ritual contexts, such as offerings to deities and ancestors, only roosters were considered appropriate.

[61] A traditional Chinese folk festival dedicated to the worship of the Earth God and ancestors.

▪ *Chersi*

Chersi, sheets of paper, used in ceremonies was historically rough, sometimes containing grass bits, and unsuitable as writing paper. Mangghuer families typically purchased large sheets of this paper from local shops and cut them at home into rectangular pieces, measuring thirty by fifty centimeters. To create ritual *chersi* offerings, ink and a *yinban* 'printing plate' (Figure 16) with a Netherworld money pattern were used to print a Netherworld design on the paper. Multiple such patterns could be printed on a single sheet.

A *zhisuo* 'paper chisel' (Figures 17a, 17b, and 17c) was a metal tool that might also have been employed to make a second type of Netherworld money for ancestor worship. A *zhisuo* was about thirteen centimeters long and three to four centimeters wide. The front end had a sharp, circular edge, with one or two notches, and a central metal protrusion. The *zhisuo* top was struck with a *nieduer* 'wooden mallet' or the hammer side of a *suguo* 'axe', pressing the tool into a stack of paper to leave rows of marks resembling the shapes of old Qing Dynasty (1644-1912) or earlier Chinese copper coins.

By 2024, traditional methods of creating paper Netherworld money were rarely used. Instead, pre-printed traditional Netherworld paper money (Figure 18) and large-denomination versions mimicking Chinese currency and US dollars (Figures 19a and 19b) were more common in Sanchuan and offered for sale at local shops.

Figure 16. A *yinban* 'printing plate' for printing Netherworld money for ancestor worship (22 November 2024, Xinjia Village, Wen Lan).

Figures 17a, 17b, and 17c. A *zhisuo* used to make Netherworld money for ancestor worship (22 November 2024, Xinjia Village, Wen Lan).

Figure 17a.

Figure 17b.

Figure 17c.

Figure 18. Burning offerings (*chersi* and *shangkuo*) to the deceased during Hanshi Day (19 March 2009, Wenjia Village, Wen Xiangcheng).

Figures 19a and 19b. Netherworld paper money mimicking Chinese currency (Figure 19a) and US dollars (Figure 19b) for ancestor worship sale at local shops (22 March 2024, Xinjia Village, Wen Lan).

Figure 19a.

Figure 19b.

▪ *Shangkuo*

Mangghuer women made *shangkuo*, a bread offering ritually burned for the dead, at home by rolling out a large, thin dough sheet with a long rolling pin and using a cleaver to cut the dough sheet into rhombus-shaped pieces, each roughly sixteen centimeters long (Figure 18). They were typically baked in a pan or wok, and once done, were removed and brushed with a thin layer of vegetable oil. Alternatively, *shangkuo* were deep-fried when made alongside frying bread for the living.

In 2024, many Sanchuan shops sold various types of bread, but none sold *shangkuo*.

▪ *Qianliang*

A *qianliang* was made of white or yellow paper cut into fringe-like strips with scissors and hung in an upper place, such as on a pole, a deity sedan, or a rope strung between two poles, and was typically offered to deities. When a *qianliang* was brought to a graveyard, it was not burned for the deceased, but for Yanwang Ye 'King of the Netherworld', in hopes of gaining his protection for the deceased and aiding their reincarnation as a human as quickly as possible. A *qianliang* was burned behind the graves, not in front. A *qianliang* might also have been used to cover a cooked rooster (Figure 20).

▪ Roosters

Historically, every Mangghuer household raised chickens, and each family offered a rooster at the graveyard on Hanshi or Qingming. The rooster dedicated to the ancestors was boiled whole without salt and other seasonings on the night before Hanshi or Qingming, after its internal organs had been removed. The next day, the cooked rooster was usually placed seated on a bamboo sieve lined with paper. The bamboo sieve was bought from vendors or shops to sift grain. The rooster was positioned upright with cotton placed in its beak and covered

with a *qianliang*. Four or five *gha* were placed around the rooster (Figure 20).

Figure 20. A cooked rooster positioned upright with cotton in its beak and its body covered with a yellow *qianliang* and surrounded by four *gha* on a bamboo sieve during Hanshi Day (19 March 2009, Wenjia Village, Wen Xiangcheng).

▪ Pigs and sheep

Pigs and sheep were sacrificed to the ancestors only on Hanshi and Qingming. The high cost of these animals meant that the entire clan usually shared the cost. However, if one family's wishes for their ancestors had been fulfilled, they would sometimes bear all the expenses for a pig or sheep sacrificed to all the deceased in the graveyard. Examples of such fulfilled

wishes might have included a clan member being promoted to a higher position, a college graduate securing an ideal job, a high school student being admitted to a good university, a childless couple having a child, or a family without sons finally having one.

Before a pig or sheep was slaughtered, an experienced elder usually delivered a short speech while holding a bottle of liquor in one hand, thanking the ancestors for their protection and hoping they would bring future wealth and good fortune to clan members. The elder then poured liquor over the animal's head. If the animal shook its head, it signified the ancestors had accepted the sacrifice, and the slaughter could proceed. If the animal did not shake its head, the elder continued his speech, asking for the ancestors' forgiveness if the clan members had done anything wrong that had annoyed the ancestors, assuring them that they would offer more sincere worship in the future. He then poured liquor on the animal's head again. This process was repeated until the animal shook its head. The pig or sheep was then slaughtered and cooked without salt and other seasonings.

▪ *Gha*

The term *gha* generally referred to 'bowl' in Mangghuer, but during Hanshi and Qingming, it referred to offering food especially prepared for the deceased. Such food was not seen in other contexts. Each family made five or six *gha* at home and brought them to the graveyard.

Gha preparation entailed mixing cooked soybean sprouts or mung bean sprouts with *dapusi* 'salt', *yaoghasang tuosi* 'heated oil', garlic, green onion, chili, *jiangyou* 'soy sauce', *su/cu* 'vinegar', and other *tiaohuo* 'seasonings' to make a cold dish, or the bean sprouts were fried with seasonings to make a hot dish. The prepared bean sprout dish was divided into five or six bowls.

Three eggs were boiled, and an additional two to three were used to make an egg sheet. Each boiled egg was carefully

sliced in half using a thread or a woman's long hair, which made it easier to cut the eggs cleanly without them falling apart. The yolks were then removed. The resulting cuts were neat and smooth. The egg sheet was cut into strips. Alternatively, the egg whites and yolks might have been separated when making egg sheets to produce a white sheet and a yellow sheet, making the *gha* color more vivid.

The egg sheet strips covered the bean sprout dish in each bowl, as shown in Figure 21. Each *gha* was decorated with green spring onion tops. Pork strips might also have been added for additional decoration.

Finally, half of a boiled egg (with the yolk removed) was placed on top of the food in each bowl.

Figure 21. Five *gha* on a *dierbanjin* 'tray' in a graveyard during Hanshi Day (19 March 2009, Wenjia Village, Wen Xiangcheng).

Other offerings, including liquor, cigarettes, *huaquan*, incense sticks, firecrackers, and fireworks, were purchased from local shops.

Around 1990, *huaquan* were handmade at home using paper bought from shops, but by 2024, villagers were purchasing ready-made *huaquan* directly from shops.

The locations of ancestral graveyards and the methods of ancestor worship in Mangghuer communities were not fixed. To illustrate these changes, Wenjia Village will serve as an example.

In 2024, about eighty Wenjia Village households originally belonged to the same clan with their original ancestral graveyard located at the foot of Dongda Terghai 'Central Head' Mountain roughly two kilometers north of the village.

Before 1990, Wenjia villagers visited their original graveyard annually for a memorial ceremony to honor their ancestors on Hanshi, known as Huer Hanshila 'Hanshi Grave Worship'. Though no one knew the name and life story of the first Wen Clan ancestor, the villagers worshiped him and added soil to his grave, which became the tallest grave in the graveyard, resembling a small hill. All Wenjia households shared the cost of purchasing a pig, which was sacrificed every few years at their original ancestral graveyard on Hanshi. The pig was slaughtered and boiled at the graveyard using cookware and firewood the villagers brought. Adult females, especially young unmarried women, rarely participated in this ancestor-memorializing ceremony. However, nearly all males, particularly boys, attended, regardless of whether a pig sacrifice took place. The boys were especially interested in digging *ganpuser* 'licorice' roots. Licorice was a prized source of sweetness at a time when sugar was scarce and was also valued as a cough medicine.

While men killed the pig and boiled the meat, the boys dug licorice roots on a hill north of the graveyard in a large orchard surrounded by tall walls. Licorice grew more abundantly there than elsewhere because the presence of humans and livestock was usually restricted. However, during Hanshi, Yang Liwar, a Han Chinese man from Shandong Province who owned the orchard, did not stop the boys from

entering, even though their digging might have damaged the orchard.

The boys dried the licorice roots they brought back home and soaked some root pieces in water to drink over the following months. Some boys collected enough licorice roots to provide their families with a year's supply of licorice drink.

No salt or other seasonings were traditionally added to the water when cooking sacrificial pork. A small portion of each part of the cooked pig was cut off and scattered around the graveyard, a ritual called *popan*.[62] Everyone present, regardless of age or gender, sat around the graves, received an equal portion of pork, and sprinkled on it the salt they had brought with them as they ate.

This tradition gradually changed over time as the population increased. By 1995, the original Wen Clan had split into thirteen separate clans with each branch clan establishing its own graveyard. The thirteen clans were the following: Xiyingtangni Jiawu, Wen Yingfutangni Jiawu, Xianglintangni Jiawu, Guishantangni Jiawu, Yingzhongtangni Jiawu, Hailongtangni Jiawu, Jilintangni Jiawu, Haiquantangni Jiawu, Jinyuantangni Jiawu, Wuchengtangni Jiawu, Jinlongbaotangni Jiawu, Hainentangni Jiawu, and Haiyuantangni Jiawu.

Mangghuer referred to a large clan with the same surname and a shared living area as *yimeghe* or *meghe*. Each *yimeghe* had a specific name, such as Wangjia, Yangjia, and Nuojie. Within each *yimeghe*, there were smaller groups organized by family units, called *jiawu*, *huoli*, or *fangshu*. A *jiawu* lacked a fixed name and was referred to by the name of a *jiawu* member. For example, Xichengni Jiawu 'the *jiawu* of Xicheng', or Xichengtangni Jiawu 'the *jiawu* of Xicheng and others'. When a family from a *jiawu* hosted a wedding or other big events, all *jiawu* members came to assist. When someone died in some small villages, each *jiawu* of the whole *yimeghe* sent a certain number of members to help with the funeral. Since funerals were often sudden events, *jiawu* members

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[62] "*Popan*" in Chinese refers to the sharing of leftover sacrificial offerings, including wine, food, and fruits.

typically did not have enough time to prepare. More people were therefore needed to assist with the various tasks required for a funeral.

Reasons for establishing a new graveyard included the expansion of the clan, which made the original graveyard unable to accommodate additional graves, and conflicts among clan members that made them unwilling to share a common burial ground. Disputes over the occupation of farmland for graves were common and often motivated households of the same clan to establish separate graveyards. Regardless of the reasons, for clan members with closer relationships, it was more convenient to hold memorial ceremonies for the deceased together in a new graveyard rather than with the entire village or a larger extended clan.

My father's clan's former burial ground was separated from Wenjia Village's original graveyard during my paternal grandfather's generation. My paternal grandfather and his brothers and sisters-in-law were buried in the graveyard at the foot of Dangquo Wobo Mountain. This burial ground was later surrounded by homes of Mangghuer migrants who had moved there from a mountain area - Badaola/Badashan 'Eight Mountains'. These migrants threw garbage into the graveyard, allowed their livestock to defecate and urinate there, and did not prevent water from flowing into the graveyard when local vegetable gardens were irrigated.

My father and his brothers argued with the migrants for several years. In the end, the migrants promised to pay my father's clan a sum of money to relocate the graves. The main use of these funds was to finance a *shenzhu qila* 'ritual moving the spiritual position of the deceased'. A *yinyang* determined the location and orientation of new graves, some Mangghuer monks chanted Tibetan Buddhist scriptures, and relatives were hosted at a designated clan member's home. My father's clan members then moved graves from the foot of Dangquo Wobo Mountain to a farmland plot a kilometer from my father's home.

When a grave was moved to a new place in a *shenzhu qila* ritual, the entire grave was not relocated. Instead, a small

amount of soil from the original grave was excavated, transported to the new site, and buried according to traditional burial practices.

Figure 22 depicts the newly built graveyard that my father and his brothers relocated from Dangquo Wobo Mountain. Although the new graveyard was understood to have the graves of my paternal grandfather and his brothers and sisters-in-law, there were no coffins in these graves - only symbolic *shenzhu*. The first person buried in this graveyard was my paternal grandmother, who passed away in 2010. Later, my father's deceased older brothers and sisters-in-law were buried here.

After around 1995, Wenjia villagers continued to worship their original ancestors at the foot of Dongda Terghai Mountain on Hanshi, with each family generally sending only one male member. After simple worship, such as adding soil to the first ancestor's grave, burning *chersi* and *shangkuo*, and pouring some liquor on the graveyard ground, they headed to their own clan's graveyard where a more elaborate memorial ceremony was held for the deceased.

In 2024, boys no longer went to dig licorice roots at the original ancestral graveyard.

The scale of memorial ceremonies for the deceased held by different clans at their respective graveyards on Hanshi or Qingming varied. Some clans held simple rituals of less than half an hour, while others might have sacrificed a pig or a sheep, cooked the meat, and spent four to six hours at the graveyard chatting, smoking, drinking liquor, and enjoying food they had brought from their homes.

All men and women from the clan attended the memorial ceremony held at their graveyard, marking a break with the traditional male-only attendance. All clan members present received an equal amount of meat and other food and added salt while eating the pork or mutton, as described above.

The cooked roosters brought to the graveyard by clan members were torn into small pieces by hand, put into a basin, and some thrown into the graveyard as a sacrifice to the

deceased. The remaining pieces of rooster were evenly distributed to attendees after the offerings to the deceased had been made.

All the bean sprout dishes brought by the different families in bowls were poured into one basin. Several handfuls were scattered in the graveyard before the remains were shared among attendees. Regardless of the type of food brought, some was first scattered in the graveyard, and the remains were evenly distributed to everyone present.

After about 2005, villages gradually stopped slaughtering and cooking the pigs or sheep in their graveyards on Hanshi or Qingming. Instead, after an elder's speech and the pig or sheep's head-shaking ritual, the sacrificial animal was taken to the home of the clan member who had provided it where it was slaughtered and cooked. Clan members were no longer required to bring cookware and firewood to the graveyard, nor did they worry about rain or snow. No salt or other seasonings were added as the meat cooked until it was half-cooked. A small portion of meat was then taken from the pot and cut into pieces, which a clan member took to the graveyard and scattered (*popan*). After the clan member left with the *popan* meat, the person responsible for cooking the meat added salt and other seasonings to the water. The meat continued cooking until it was well done.

All clan members then gathered in this home to share the meat, other food, and liquor. The food was placed on tables for everyone to help themselves and eat together.

Figure 22. Wenjia villagers worship their ancestors in the graveyard during Hanshi Day (19 March 2009, Zhongchuan Township, Wen Xiangcheng).

Figure 23. Wenjia villagers of different clans share the remaining sacrificial food and liquor in their respective clan graveyards after offering sacrifices to their ancestors during Hanshi Day (19 March 2009, Zhongchuan Township, Wen Xiangcheng).

PART TWO:
MANGGHUER MARRIAGE

MARRIAGE PATTERNS

My maternal grandmother told me this story when I was a child:

Long ago in the Mangghuer community, men married into women's homes but often became restless once they grew tired of staying there and would flee, no longer wanting to remain. This led to the separation of countless couples.

The elders proposed a new approach to resolve this issue – women would marry into the men's homes. To encourage this transition, each bride's parents would send her off with a dowry of two beautifully painted chests adorned with intricate floral designs.

Just as the men were unwilling to stay in the women's homes, the women became homesick and yearned to return to their natal homes after some time had passed. However, they found the exquisitely painted chests so beautiful that they couldn't bear to leave them, so they stayed in the men's homes.

Afterward, it became customary for brides to move into their husbands' homes with a pair of painted chests as part of their dowry.

This Mangghuer story about changes in marriage traditions in the Sanchuan area described the 2024 Mangghuer marriage pattern, in which the bride married into the groom's home, and they lived as a monogamous couple. Previously, until it was banned in 1949, polygamy was common in the Mangghuer area.

Elders had never heard of polyandry in Sanchuan.

Traditionally, Mangghuer marriages were arranged by parents and decided through the activities and guidance of matchmakers. Free-choice marriages were virtually unknown. Through the arrangement and persuasion of a matchmaker,

two young individuals who had never met could become lifelong partners. The groom's and bride's parents did not meet directly to discuss wedding-related matters. Instead, all negotiations were conducted through the matchmaker. Consequently, the matchmaker's role was highly significant in Mangghuer weddings. Matchmakers were respectfully referred to as *jinzi meigong* 'gold matchmaker' or *junzi meigong* 'virtuous matchmaker'.

When my maternal grandmother, Lü Yingqing, was young, a groom first met his bride at the wedding. After the establishment of New China, grooms and brides met via the matchmaker's introduction before a *lang'huo wugha*[63] 'engagement ceremony'.

Once a marriage agreement had been reached between two families, the prospective groom's family chose an auspicious day and requested the matchmaker to bring three bottles of liquor, twenty *manteng* 'steamed bread approximately thirty centimeters in diameter', and a certain amount of cash to the prospective bride's home for a *lang'huo wugha* ritual. As soon as the matchmaker arrived at the prospective bride's home, he would pour a portion from one of the three bottles of liquor onto the floor of the main room as a sacrificial offering to the *Tiangere* 'Heaven', *ghazher* 'earth', and *perghang*[64] 'deities'. A second bottle was drunk by the prospective bride's clan members, who filled the empty bottle with *mula pujighe* 'peas' or *huangduer* 'soybeans'. The last bottle was left unopened. After lunch, the matchmaker returned the three bottles to the prospective groom's home. Two bottles contained some liquor, while the third bottle contained *mula pujighe* or *huangduer*. The prospective groom's clan members then drank the liquor.

Even if the couple disliked each other, they had no right to defy their parents' decision, especially after *lang'huo wugha* ceremony. For example, when one of my great-uncles (1910s-

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[63] *Lang'huo* 'bottle' indicates liquor (in the bottle). *Lang'huo wugha* 'drink liquor' refers to an engagement ceremony.

[64] *Pughang* is an alternative pronunciation.

1980s) was seventeen, he and a matchmaker went to Lüjia Village, Guanting Town, to meet a girl. The matchmaker indicated a pretty girl from a distance. Great-uncle could not talk to her, but agreed to marry her. Later on the wedding day, he was shocked when he realized his bride was unattractive and not the girl he had seen earlier in Lüjia Village. Nevertheless, he did not defy his parents and spent his life with her.

Even as recently as the 1980s, when a young woman from Wenjia fell in love with a local elementary school teacher without the introduction of a matchmaker and planned to marry him against her parents' wishes, it created a local sensation. Villagers felt she had violated their cultural ethics and morality, creating a great swirl of gossip. Although she eventually married the teacher, her parents thought she had brought great shame to their family and were not confident about their local reputation for years.

Although free-choice marriages, where young men and women found partners without a matchmaker's introduction, became more common in the late 1990s, they continued to be opposed by certain conservative families, especially the parents of girls. However, by 2024 in Sanchuan, most marriages were free-choice, although arranged marriages still existed.

With the rise of free-choice marriages, wedding arrangements were increasingly discussed directly between the two families, making the matchmaker's intermediary role less significant and even unnecessary. However, the role of the matchmaker remained essential during the wedding ceremony itself, so it became common in 2024 to invite someone with a good reputation and a deep understanding of wedding customs to assume this role at weddings.

According to my maternal grandmother, Mangghuer rarely intermarried with other ethnic groups. Most women who married outside of Sanchuan were physically disabled or had mental disabilities. The convenience of a shared language, common religious beliefs, daily interactions, and similar habits and customs made locals more willing to marry Mangghuer. Over time, this tradition created a complex network of kinship

ties among them. When one Mangghuer encountered another unfamiliar Mangghuer, it was highly likely that they would be relatives or distant kin.

A bride or groom might have been chosen from relatives, which was called *qin shang jia qin* 'make relatives closer through marriage'. However, Mangghuer marriages were not allowed between men and women of the same surname from the same village, or between men and women of different generations among relatives. Therefore, marriages between the children of brothers were prohibited, while marriages between the children of a brother and a sister, or between the children of two sisters, were allowed. With the spread of scientific knowledge about genetics in Sanchuan, the Mangghuer gradually came to understand that consanguineous marriages could affect children's intelligence. After 2000, the practice of consanguineous marriage began to decline, and by 2024, it had nearly disappeared.

In the 1980s, all of Wenjia's seventy households were Mangghuer, except for three Han Chinese women who had married into the village from outside Sanchuan. However, starting around 2000, an increasing number of Mangghuer female college graduates began marrying men from other ethnic groups, a practice that had been rare before. As a consequence, Mangghuer men became increasingly unable to find Mangghuer wives, so they married women from other ethnic groups, though their preferred brides were Mangghuer. By 2024, there were approximately twenty Han Chinese and Tibetan wives in Wenjia Village, indicating the increasing ethnic diversity of Sanchuan villages.

Figures 24 and 25 display the marriage certificates of a Mangghuer man with his former (divorced) wife (dated January 18, 1960) and his current wife (dated January 8, 1965), issued by the Zhongchuan Township Government.[65] These certificates suggest that divorce was rare but did occur during that period. Some Chinese characters on the certificates are in

[65] To protect the privacy of the certificate holders, the names on the certificates have been removed.

traditional form, indicating that the simplified characters commonly used in mainland China in 2024 had not yet been fully or widely implemented at that time. In addition to Chinese characters, Tibetan was used in the first certificate (Figure 24) because Qinghai Province had many Tibetan areas. As a result, the province adopted the bilingual Chinese-Tibetan marriage certificates designed by the Xizang Autonomous Region. Both certificates feature four Chinese characters *zi zhu zi yuan* 'autonomous and voluntary' in the background, indicating that marriage could only be entered into with the consent of both the man and the woman, though almost all marriages at that time were arranged by parents.

Figure 24. A Mangghuer marriage certificate issued on 18 January 1960 (September 2024, Zhongchuan Township, Wen Xiangcheng).

Figure 25. A Mangghuer marriage certificate issued on 8 January 1965 (September 2024, Zhongchuan Township, Wen Xiangcheng).

BRIDES

Being a bride was often the highlight of a Mangghuer woman's life. Young unmarried women typically spent three to five years preparing for their wedding.

A Mangghuer bride was evaluated according to multiple criteria. Physical attractiveness was considered important and was historically defined by features such as large double-lidded eyes, fair skin, a broad, round face, long black hair, tall stature, and small bound feet - the smaller, the better. Before the wedding, experienced women would use two strings to remove the bride's facial hair, enhancing her appearance. Practical skills were also highly valued: her proficiency in sewing, embroidery, and making clothes and shoes was carefully assessed. Her demeanor during the wedding was equally significant - she was expected to sit and stand with poise, walk gracefully, speak softly, avoid exaggerated facial expressions and gestures, and refrain from laughing or speaking loudly. Furthermore, her ability to perform bridal lamentations and her skill in cooking (discussed later) were regarded as key indicators of her overall worth.

A bride was expected to be fully prepared before her wedding, which meant being proficient in making clothes and shoes, cooking daily meals, completing bridal needlework, and performing lamentations. Qinghai sheng bianji zu (2009) describes the Mangghuer brides' preparation before marriage with imaginative additions:

民和县三川地区的土族，在女子出嫁前的一月中，女家亲眷要拿礼物来看即要出嫁的姑娘，表示送行之意。亲眷们每次来家，将要出嫁的女子，一定要大声哭闹，埋怨甚至咒骂父母和媒人，大意是说，不该将她许人，她不愿离开自己的家，不愿出嫁到他们家中去，等等。在这一月中，将要出嫁的女子，故意装出极不愿意出嫁的样子，也不好好吃喝，饿着肚子使身体瘦弱，垂头丧气，没精打采。如果不这样，亲友们就会笑话她，说她脸皮厚，不害臊 (Qinghai sheng bianji zu 2009:106)。

In the Sanchuan area of Minhe County, the Tu ethnic group follows a tradition in which, in the month before a girl marries, her relatives visit her with gifts, expressing their intention of sending her off. Every time they visit, the prospective bride must cry loudly, yell, complain, and even curse her parents and the matchmaker. The general idea is to convey that she should not be given away, expressing her unwillingness to leave her own home and marry into someone else's family, and so on. Throughout this month, the prospective bride intentionally acts extremely unwilling to marry. She refuses to eat and drink properly, deliberately starving herself to become thin, weak, dejected, and listless. If she doesn't behave in this way, relatives and friends might mock her, saying she is shameless and lacks modesty.

Before a Mangghuer woman married, her female relatives, villagers, and friends visited to show concern for her wedding preparation, such as bridal needlework and bridal lamentations. This was not a time to say goodbye, which happened when they came to see her depart from her natal home on the wedding day. When visited before the wedding, the prospective bride did not cry and yell, let alone curse her parents and the matchmaker. She needed to complete unfinished needlework with the assistance of other women and learn lamentations from female elders. Lamentations were not yelling but singing in a sad, drawn-out way. The prospective bride was expected to behave calmly; therefore, she should not appear excited or eager to marry, but there was no need to pretend to be extremely unwilling. My research found no evidence that Mangghuer brides starved themselves for a month to become thin, weak, depressed, or listless. Instead, they simply limited their intake of food and liquids during the wedding days to avoid frequent toilet visits when the house was full of guests.

Foot Binding

Sanchuan Mangghuer women traditionally practiced *khuer huoruo* 'foot binding', which distinguished them from the Huzhu Mongghul and other Monguor groups that had no such tradition.

The size of Mangghuer women's feet was as important as their appearance, or even more so. Sometimes, when people saw a Mangghuer woman, they paid more attention to the size of her feet than to her appearance. Mangghuer mothers helped their six-to-eight-year-old daughters bind their feet because girls with *shuguo khuer*[66] 'big feet' would not find a *gezai ger* 'good (husband's) home' or *gezai kuergan* 'high-quality husband',[67] and thus would become a *jiarider* 'concubine with *shuguo khuer* doing field or sheep-herding work'. Mothers frightened daughters into foot binding by threatening, "*Shuguotuku laomei a lai ri nia* 'No matchmaker will introduce a husband to you when you grow up'."

An aged Mangghuer woman, Ku Yingchunlan (1920-?), described her foot-binding when I interviewed her in 2001 in Sanchuan:

Muni khuernang liusuidisa huoruojiang ma. Aba anasi nukuer berji huoruoji hulang bei. Jienang huoruoji chenggharagha daku, muni ana suguolang. Khuainuo muni ana guidaku du jienang huoruojiang bei. Muni ana guida kongdu muni khuernang yijing huoruo muladage bergha ba.

My feet were bound when I was six years old. My parents helped bind them. If I did not bind them tightly enough, my mother scolded me. After my mother's death, I bound them myself. My feet were already very small when my mother died (Pullinen 2015:206).

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[66] *Shuguo khuer* 'big feet' in Mangghuer refers to girls whose feet were bound when they were ten or older and thus had larger feet than girls whose feet were bound when they were six or seven. This term also refers to unbound feet.

[67] A tall, healthy, polite, and honest man from a wealthy family.

Although the custom of *khuer huoruo* was banned in 1949,[68] Mangghuer mothers believed it would regain popularity and, for a few years, continued to ensure their young daughters' feet were bound out of concern they would become *jiarider*. This custom gradually ended after 1949 in Sanchuan. Only Mangghuer women born before 1940 had *mula khuer* 'tiny feet' 'bound feet' in Sanchuan in 2024. Those born between 1940 and 1952 had feet larger than their mothers' but smaller than unbound feet.

After the 1950s, few Mangghuer women still had bound feet. However, women with normal-sized feet were still considered large and unattractive. In 2024, if a woman had unusually large feet, others might have gossiped that *khuerni shuguoni tangba shenge* 'her feet were as big as a rake'.

Figure 26. An elder Mangghuer woman's embroidered shoes (2001, Nongchang Village, Zhongchuan Township, Aila Pullinen).

[68] In the early years of the Republic of China, the Minhe County Government planned to force Tu ethnic women in Guanting to loosen their feet binding and change traditional costumes, sparking public resistance (Li 2009:319).

Sanchuan Mangghuer foot binding was also mentioned by Zhuang Xueben (Figure 27a):

土人远道往来都骑马。互助、乐都、大通女子皆天足，故善于行走。民和之女子都小足，行动时袅娜多姿，有风吹欲倒之概，如出门远行，常由其丈夫为之牵马前导，充当临时的的马夫 (Li 2009:320)。

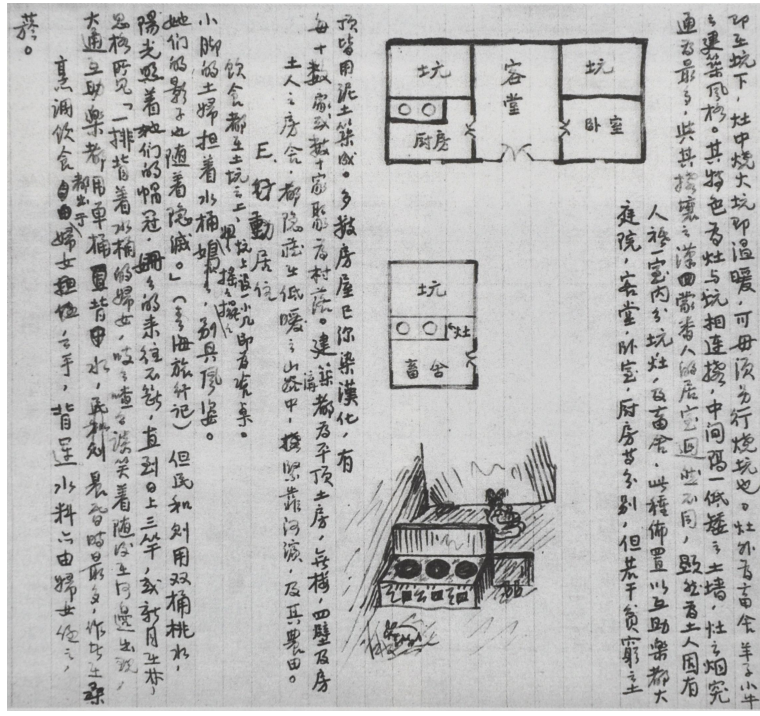
The Tu people ride horses for long-distance travel. Tu women from Huzhu, Ledu, and Datong all have natural, unbound feet, so they are good walkers. Tu women in Minhe, however, have small, bound feet and move gracefully with a swaying gait, as if about to be blown over by the wind. When they go on long journeys, their husbands often lead their horses, acting as temporary grooms.

Figures 27a, 27b, and 27c. Zhuang Xueben's notes during his on-site visit to the Tu/Monguor area (1937, Zhuang Xueben in Li 2009:320; Li 2009:349; Li 2009:319).

Figure 27a.

Figure 27b.

Figure 27c.



Needlework

Doing needlework was an essential skill that accompanied a Mangghuer woman throughout much of her life. A young unmarried woman prepared her trousseau before marriage, which included embroidered items for herself and as wedding gifts for the groom's relatives. Although her mother and female relatives assisted, she primarily completed most of the needlework herself. After marriage, she sewed clothes, hats, shoes, and socks for her husband, children, and herself. If she had daughters, she helped them prepare their trousseaux. When she grew old, she sewed burial garments for both her husband and for herself.

A Mangghuer girl typically began learning needlework from her mother or grandmother around the age of twelve and started embroidering items two to three years before her wedding. The lustrous and expensive *terghuo dasi* 'silk thread' sourced from south China was relatively scarce in Sanchuan, so beginners usually practiced with the more affordable *huahongxian* 'dyed cotton thread'. *Terghuo dasi* was not used until their embroidery technique had improved and they began preparing needlework for their wedding.

Pullinen (2015:206) commented:

> Some girls began preparing their trousseau at the age of twelve, because it often required three to five years. Female family members contributed to this work, because the eventual bride required a wide range of embroidered items for her own use and for gifts to be given at the wedding to the groom and his relatives. These works demonstrated the bride's needlework dexterity and worthiness as a bride to her future groom and his mother.

Before the 1960s, buying ready-made clothing and footwear in Sanchuan was almost impossible. Women usually made clothing, hats, shoes, and socks with purchased fabrics. The items women make included *lianbieger* 'bedding',

suchangdu musiku dier 'daily clothing', *huguku musiku dier* 'burial garments', *hai* 'shoes', including *khuzhutai hai*[69] 'embroidered shoes for women's bound feet' (Figures 26, 28, and 33), *waliuguer* 'handmade socks with embroidery on the heels and bottoms', *diere qige* 'pillow ears' (Figures 29, 30, and 31),[70] *weiduer* 'women's embroidered aprons' (Figure 32), *ghajiuri* 'women's sleeveless jackets with large embroidered pockets' (Figure 34), *khuermo* 'pleated skirts with front and back slits' (Figure 35), headwear including *qigejier*[71] 'embroidered hats for brides and girls' (Figure 36), *mergha* 'round hats for men and boys' (Figure 37), and *laohumer* 'embroidered tiger-head-shape hats for infants', *khaiqi ger* 'embroidered scissor sheaths' (Figure 38), *shanzi ger* 'embroidered fan cases', *pianbaozi/qianbaozi* 'wallets' (Figures 39a, 39b, and 39c), *woduzi* 'men's embroidered sashes with a pocket in the front', *zhencher*[72] 'embroidered pincushions used by women, or ornaments attached to children's clothing (Figures 40a and 40b) and to deities' sedan chairs (Figure 13)'. All these items were embroidered, except for bedding, men's clothing, and men's shoes.

Mangghuer embroidery featured patterns with auspicious connotations, such as *qijighe* 'flowers' (*mudan* 'peonies', *lianhua* 'lotuses', *meihua* 'plum blossoms', *lancao* 'orchids', *juhua* 'chrysanthemums', *yueji* 'roses', *tao qijighe* 'peach blossoms'), *bughe* 'trees' (*songshu* 'pine trees', *khuleghesi* 'bamboo', *xijuesi bughe* 'willow trees', *qijighe bughe* 'flower trees', *alima bughe* 'fruit trees'), *alima* 'fruit' (*shilier*

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[69] Literally 'shoe with snout'.

[70] 'Pillow ears' is a direct translation. 'Pillow ends' more aptly describes how *diere qige* were used.

[71] A red embroidered hat for unmarried girls to wear in winter and brides to wear when performing lamentations. A bride covered her head with a black headscarf, *baotou*, and then donned the *qigejier*.

[72] *Zhencher* refers either to traditional embroidered pincushions used by women for sewing - typically hung from the first or second button of their jackets - or to decorative ornaments attached to children's clothing during the Dragon Boat Festival and to local deities' sedan chairs. Different types of *zhencher* vary in size and shape depending on their function.

'pomegranates', *tao* 'peaches', *putao* 'grapes', fingered citrons), *zhutu* 'zodiac animals'[73] (*laochu* 'rats/mice', *bersi* 'tigers', *taolai* 'rabbits', *long* 'dragons', *mori* 'horses', *huer* 'monkey'), *amitang* 'creatures' (*kong* 'humans', *paoluger* 'sika deer', *shizi* 'lions', *hong'huang/feng'huang* 'phoenixes', *yuanyang* 'mandarin ducks', *jinji shibao* 'peacocks', *sazhighai* 'magpies', *xianhe* 'red-crowned cranes' *wurengreng* 'dragonflies', *herbige* 'butterflies', *jinyuer* 'goldfish', *hahai* 'spiders', and more recently, *xiongmao* 'pandas'), and *pujighe* 'Chinese characters' (*fu* 'happiness', *fu* 'wealth', *shou* 'longevity', *shuangxi* 'double happiness').

Butterflies were not embroidered on the *diere qige* of a pillow prepared for the deceased. It was believed that human *sunisi* 'souls' would fly away with butterflies, lose their way to Heaven, and fail to reincarnate as humans. Some old women collected flowers, dried them, and put them into the pillows on which their heads would rest in their coffins after death so they would be reincarnated as flowers in their next life.

In the 1990s, new embroidery items emerged, including *hai dianqier* 'embroidered shoe-pads' (Figure 41), *yang zhentou*[74] 'modern embroidered pillowcases' (Figure 42), *shandan* 'embroidered square cloth used to cover folded quilts' (Figure 43), and *kangweizi* 'embroidered wall hangings'. Most of the clothes, shoes, and socks the brides presented to the groom's family and relatives as wedding gifts were finished products purchased from shops, reducing the brides' burden.

The most commonly used embroidery item at a wedding was *diere qige*. A traditional Mangghuer pillow was a cuboid about fifty-five x twenty x twenty centimeters and generally

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[73] The Mangghuer names for the twelve zodiac animals are: *kherghana* 'rat' (commonly called *laochu*), *huguer* 'ox', *ber* 'tiger' (commonly called *bersi* or *laohu*), *taolai* 'rabbit', *lu* 'dragon' (commonly called *long*), *moghai* 'snake', *mori* 'horse', *khuoni* 'sheep', *mixiqin* 'monkey' (commonly called *huer*), *teghao* 'rooster', *nughuai* 'dog', and *kheghai* 'pig'.

[74] Literally 'foreign pillow'. "*Yang*" in Chinese refers to "foreign." The Mangghuer use Chinese terms for items introduced from abroad, such as *yang huo* 'match', *yang tang* 'candy', *yang dingzi* 'nail', *yang hui* 'cement', and *yang cong* 'onion'.

filled with *sigha yizi* 'buckwheat husks'. A *diere qige* was on both ends of the pillowcase. When a bride presented *diere qige* to the groom's family and relatives at the wedding, she gave each recipient a pair (not just one) with identical embroidery patterns (Figure 29). A pillow was not given, only a pair of *diere qige*. If recipients of the bride's gifts wanted to make a pillow with the gift, they needed to make the pillow and attach the *diere qige*.

Before *yang zhentou* were introduced to the Mangghuer region, locals used traditional pillows with embroidered *diere qige*. In 2024, these traditional pillows with *diere qige* were no longer common in daily life, although they were still used in coffins. The embroidery pattern on the *diere qige* of a traditional coffin pillow featured a male figure holding a teapot and a female figure holding a teacup, with a lotus flower between them.

A *shandan* was a square piece of white cloth with embroidery in the center used to cover a folded quilt. Each side of a typical *shandan* was approximately eighty to one hundred centimeters. A *kangweizi* was a white cloth wall hanging about one meter high and three meters long with three embroidered sections hung in a room as decoration. *Shandan* and *kangweizi* were not gifts to the groom's family and relatives, but wedding room decorations for when the bride reached the groom's home. However, the *shandan* and *kangweizi* were important display items for brides to showcase their embroidery skills and every bride prepared them before her wedding. After the year 2000, *kangweizi* were increasingly not used, while *shandan* were still in use in 2024.

Almost all Mangghuer females born after 1990 attended school and thus had little time for learning needlework, though presenting the bride's needlework as wedding gifts continued in 2024. Unmarried young women obtained their wedding needlework items from their mothers and aunts or bought them from middle-aged women who did needlework and sold

embroidered items in Guanting Town during market days.[75] Machine-embroidered pillowcases purchased from the shops were also presented to the groom's family and relatives, replacing the traditional hand-embroidered *diere qige*.

The table below shows the approximate prices of embroidery products in the Guanting Town market in 2024.

Table 3. Embroidered products market prices in Guanting Town in 2024.

Item	diere qige (a pair)	shandan	hai dianqier (a pair)	yang zhentou (a pair)
Price (CNY)	80-100	400	60-100	350

[75] Market days along Guanting Street were on the second, fifth, eighth, twelfth, fifteenth, eighteenth, twenty-second, twenty-fifth, and twenty-eighth days of each month.

Figure 28. A Mangghuer woman makes embroidered shoes (1937, Zhuang Xueben in Li 2009:314).

Figure 29. A pair of *diere qige* 'pillow ears'. The white serrated decoration around the main embroidery on each *diere qige* is known as *gouyer* 'dog teeth' (2010, Xining, Wen Xiangcheng).

Figure 30. A traditional Mangghuer pillow with *diere qige* (2001, Guanting Town, Aila Pullinen).

Figure 31. A display of *diere qige* in Qijia Village during a Nadun Art Festival (August 2004, Zhongchuan Township, Wen Xiangcheng).

Figure 32. Mangghuer women traditionally wore *weiduer* daily. The embroidered part is a large pocket (August 2004, Sanchuan, Wen Xiangcheng).

Figure 33. This pair of *khuzhutai hai* 'embroidered shoes for women's bound feet' measured eight centimeters by fourteen centimeters with two-centimeter heels (August 2004, Sanchuan, Wen Xiangcheng).

Figure 34. An embroidered pocket from a woman's *ghajiuri* 'sleeveless jacket' (August 2004, Sanchuan, Wen Xiangcheng).

Figure 35. Mangghuer women traditionally wore *khuermo* 'pleated skirts with front and back slits' (2010, Zhangjia Village, Guanting Town, Zhang Chengzhi).

Figure 36. Two Mangghuer girls with bound feet wearing *qigejier* play on a *shurberji* 'swing' (1937, Zhuang Xueben in Li 2009:301).[76]

[76] Mangghuer had the custom of swinging on the winter solstice. Parents tied ropes to the house beams or horizontal tree branches to make a swing for their children to play on. Swinging on the winter solstice was believed to bring and increase good fortune.

Figure 37. A boy's *mergha* 'hat' (August 2004, Wen Xiangcheng).

Figure 38. *Khaiqi ger* 'scissor sheaths' (2010, Zhangjia Village, Guanting Town, Zhang Chengzhi).

Figures 39a, 39b, and 39c. Embroidered *pianbaozi* 'wallets' (August 2004, Sanchuan, Wen Xiangcheng).

Figures 40a and 40b. *Zhencher* designed to be attached to children's clothing during the Dragon Boat Festival (June 2024, Zhongchuan Township, Wen Xiangcheng).

Figure 40a.

Figure 40b.

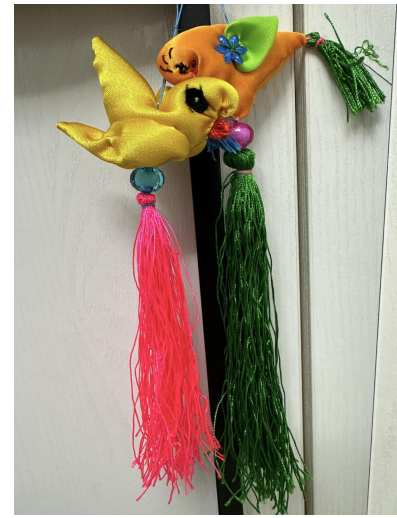

Figure 41. *Hai dianqier* 'embroidered shoe-pads' (August 2004, Zhongchuan Township, Wen Xiangcheng).

Figure 42. *Yang zhentou* 'modern embroidered pillowcases' (11 January 2025, Xinjia Village, Zhongchuan Township, Wen Lan).

Figure 43. *Yang zhentou* and *shandan* are displayed in a Mangghuer bride's home (11 January 2025, Wenjia Village, Zhongchuan Township, Wen Lan).

Lamentations

Learning *aihou*[77] 'bridal lamentations' and *yanjia* 'funeral lamentations' was essential for Sanchuan Mangghuer females. A female performed *aihou yila*[78] 'weeping *aihou*' during her wedding, expressing public reluctance to leave her family and natal home. A deceased's female relatives were expected to perform *yanjia yila*[79] 'weeping *yanjia*' expressing sadness during funerals and subsequent mourning and memorial ceremonies.

The Mangghuer language used in bridal and funeral lamentations differs from everyday Mangghuer in vocabulary and language expression. Lamentation performers employed a number of terms and language expressions rarely heard in daily conversations (discussed later).

Since the bridal lamentation performance was an important criterion for evaluating a bride, older women from a bride's family and clan instructed her at nights before the wedding. The quality of a performance was judged based on the pleasantness of the bride's voice, whether she mentioned all her family members and close relatives in her lamentations,

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[77] *Aihou* is known as *yihou* in some villages. *Aihou/Yihou* is explained by some as referring to Chinese *yihou* 'afterwards' 'henceforth', because a bride sang her wishes for the future in bridal lamentations. In fact, most bridal lamentation lyrics are not about a bride's wishes, and I have never heard such an explanation from knowledgeable elders. Ma (1990) explains that *aihou* is a phonetic variant of *ai hun*, literally 'bitter marriage'. Regarding this explanation, I agree with Hu and Stuart (1992:220): "...rendering *aihou* (pronounced the same way in Tu) as 'bitter marriage' is improbable. We argue it is a mood verb and is the sound of weeping used to express grief about the approaching 'undesired' marriage, grief at leaving parents, apprehension about going to a new, unknown place to live with a stranger, and also fear of sexual relations."

Aihou expresses sadness, is only heard in bridal lamentations, and appears multiple times in this book. When it appears in lamentation lyrics, I write it as *aihou-* "alas."

[78] The beginning of each bridal lamentation line begins with *aihou*, hence *aihou yila*.

[79] Funeral lamentation performers referred to themselves as *yanjia*, hence *yanjia yila*.

whether her lyrics were emotionally moving, and whether her tone was sorrowful enough to affect those around her. To excel, a bride learned and practiced lamentations from at least a month before her wedding, and rehearsed them in the evening before the wedding.

Mangghuer lack both oral narratives and written records concerning the origins of lamentation. According to McLaren, weeping and wailing performances had gendered attributes and were understood to reflect female virtue and talent (McLaren 2008:17). In describing lamentation traditions in the twentieth-century, she writes:

> In twentieth–century China, bridal laments amongst populations designated Han Chinese have been noted in Guangzhou, Hong Kong, the Shanghai hinterland, Shandong, Zhejiang, Anhui, Guangxi, Sichuan, Fujian, Hainan, Hubei, Hunan, and Taiwan. Although most modern sources claim that bridal laments were once practiced all over China, the practice appears to have been less prevalent in the Yellow River region, at least in the twentieth century. Bridal laments are also common amongst a large number of designated 'minorities' in the western borderlands or in the south, including the Muslim Salar of Qinghai, the Miao of Guizhou, the She of Fujian, the Yao and Zhuang of Guangxi, the Sani of Yunnan, the Tujia of Hubei and Hunan, and the Kazakhs of Xinjiang. In Inner Mongolia, the bride must weep on departure in a wedding ceremony that involves a masquerade "seizing the bride" (McLaren 2008:93).

Hairstyle and Headdress

An unmarried Mangghuer female had braided hair and rarely wore a headdress. However, when arriving at the groom's home on her wedding day, she was expected to change her hairstyle to that of a married woman including wearing a headdress as illustrated in Figures 44a and 44b. Married women tied their hair in high buns known as *shangtu* or *shangdang* and fixed the

buns with *zer* 'hairpins'. The headdress around the bun was *subuduer naoder*, and the beads on *subuduer naoder* were *shuru*. *Subuduer naoder*, made of *zhen shuru* 'real coral beads', was a symbol of nobility and wealth. Women from poor families usually wore *subuduer naoder* decorated with cheap *jia shuru* 'fake beads' made of dyed stones. A silver phoenix that trembled in front of her head as the woman walked was known as *shoupaguer*. Earrings were *nixier* in Mangghuer. Only long silver earrings such as those shown in the two pictures were *suoluozhuer nixier* 'long silver earrings'. Mangghuer women wore pants because they were convenient for household and agricultural work. On grand occasions or when visiting relatives, they wore *khuermo* skirts (Figures 6, 7, 35, and 55). The nomadic ancestors of the Mangghuer designed these skirts with front and back slits to facilitate horseback riding (Lü 2002:238).

My paternal grandmother, Wang Dongmeihua, had twelve traditional *miangu zer* 'silver hairpins' of different shapes that she kept in a wooden box measuring approximately twenty-five centimeters in length, ten centimeters in height, and ten centimeters in width. The shape of one hairpin was a dragon, another was a phoenix, and the rest featured different flowers. Some were adorned with gems of different colors. The heads and handles of these hairpins were connected by silver springs, causing them to vibrate when worn on the head while walking. Grandma said countless brides had borrowed her hairpins from almost all the Sanchuan villages to wear at their weddings. Since the hairpins were precious and rare, she was unwilling to lend them to strangers. For this reason, many would-be borrowers asked their relatives or relatives' relatives to borrow them. Grandma was warm-hearted and never refused a request to borrow her hairpins as long as she knew the person making the request. Borrowers often brought wedding bread, highland barley liquor, brick tea,[80] and other gifts as thank-you presents. Silver tarnished easily, so the hairpins were cleaned with toothpaste to restore their shine before use.

[80] A pressed, rectangular block of black tea.

When I was a child in the 1980s, brides still borrowed her silver hairpins, but by the 1990s, traditional hairpins had lost their value with the disappearance of traditional bridal hairstyles. Brides increasingly began wearing cheap and easily available silk flowers.

Figures 44a and 44b. Sanchuan Mangghuer married women (1937, Zhuang Xueben in Li 2009:349).

Figure 44a.

Figure 44b.

Dowry

My maternal grandmother, Lü Yingqing, told me a pair of *qijighe xiangzi* 'painted wooden chest' (Figures 45 and 46) and one or two pieces of *shizhang* 'wool felt' were common dowry items when she was young. Wool felt was common because every household raised sheep, but painted wooden chests were precious due to the high cost of wood, carpenters, and painters.

As a result, only brides from wealthy families owned a pair of painted wooden chests, while most brides had only one given by their parents. If the bride's family was poor and could not afford a painter, she received only a plain, unpainted chest as part of her dowry.

A wooden chest typically measured about ninety x eighty x seventy centimeters, though poorer parents gave their daughters smaller ones.

Pullinen described Mangghuer brides' trousseau chests:

> An Liumei (b. 1941) said that most brides had a trousseau chest and stated that her father gave her such a chest when she was twelve. Some interviewees borrowed a chest because they lacked one of their own. The chests were painted red or black, and decorated with paintings of various colorful floral motifs. Rich girls usually had two chests while poor brides had only one chest, or none (Pullinen 2015:206).

Nevertheless, a pair of painted wooden chests was the most common bride's dowry in Sanchuan in the 1980s. This changed in the 1990s when carpenters from Sichuan Province, known as *xiabier mujiang* or *duoruo ghazher mujiang*,[81] began coming to Sanchuan and introducing *kangkui*[82] - a cabinet with drawers and shelves, approximately 180 x 200 x 70 centimeters in size (Figure 47). Such cabinets were placed on the *hegang*[83] 'heatable sleeping and eating platform'. *Kangkui* stored and displayed items, gradually replacing the traditional painted dowry chests. *Kangkui* were considered "modern" and grew in popularity with every Mangghuer family wanting one. Because of the demand for *kangkui*, local carpenters quickly learned

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[81] *Xiabier mujiang* or *duoruo ghazher mujiang* 'carpenters from lower areas' refers to carpenters from south China.

[82] *Kangkui* and *kanggui* are alternative pronunciations.

[83] Chinese, *kang*. A hollow platform made of adobe, stones, or bricks for sitting, eating, sleeping, and entertaining guests in north China, heated by burning dry plant residue or coal inside or channeling hot air from a stove.

how to make them. Later each Mangghuer family had at least one *kangkui*.

Figure 45. A pair of Mangghuer bride's traditional dowry, *qijighe xiangzi* 'painted wooden chest', made in the 1960s (June 2023, Wenjia Village, Wen Lan).

Figure 46. One of a pair of a Mangghuer bride's painted wooden chests made in the 1920s. The original hasp on the chest was replaced after it was damaged (June 2023, Wenjia Village, Wen Lan).

Figure 47. *Kangkui* replaced traditional chests and became a common dowry item for Sanchuan Mangghuer brides in the 1990s. A *shiri* table is placed in the center of the *hegang*, and a folded quilt on the *hegang* is covered with a *shandan* (June 2023, Xinjia Village, Wen Lan).

Traditional Mangghuer weddings were typically held in winter, when farm work was minimal and the risk of food spoilage was reduced. Before electricity was introduced into villagers' homes in the Sanchuan area around 1990, locals had no household appliances, including refrigerators. Therefore, keeping food fresh at room temperature became the primary consideration when choosing the season for holding a wedding.

A traditional Mangghuer wedding typically lasted ten to fifteen days, including seven to ten days of wedding preparation after the *gaohu* 'inform clan members' ceremony, a one-day *aguer dahula* 'send-off a girl' ceremony in the bride's home, and four days of wedding festivities in the groom's home. The four-day wedding festivities at the groom's home consisted of the *shouke* 'receive guest' ceremony on the first day, the *khureng*[84] 'banquet' ceremony on the second day, the *xiejiu* 'thank-you liquor' ceremony on the third day, and the *nuer khari* 'return to parents' home' ceremony on the fourth day.

The *gaohu* ceremonies at the homes of the prospective groom and bride were held on different days, but the formal wedding festivities began simultaneously at both homes, so the *aguer dahula* and *shouke* ceremonies took place on the same day.

Grigorij Potanin documented a Mangghuer wedding at a groom's home in Hejia Village, Guanting Town, 8-11 December 1884. Although he offered a brief description of several key rituals during the wedding from an outsider's perspective - and some of his descriptions are inaccurate - his account holds significant reference value for studying traditional Mangghuer weddings, as it is the earliest record of a Mangghuer wedding ceremony I have found.

My wife and I had the opportunity of being present at a wedding on 8 December 1884, in Sanchuan, ... The bride came from a different village, ... She rode a mule and her

[84] *Khureng* and *khurong* are alternative pronunciations.

face was not visible because a fur coat had been thrown from the foreside on her head with the hair inside. A man led the mule by the bridle and another man walked by the rider holding the saddle. Some ten other men surrounded the bride from the sides and behind. Another crowd of men sang about ten to fifteen steps in front of the bride.

The procession was moving in the direction of a fire that had been made in front of the house at a distance of some one hundred steps from its gate to which the bride was being taken. Some finely–dressed women were waiting for the bride by the fire. The bride dismounted at the fire, her fur coat was removed, the women came to her, undid the end of her braid, and made up her hair in the style of a married woman. Then the bride was taken into the house, where she remained until eleven a.m. According to what I heard, she was dressed up there, and her head was covered with the headgear of a married woman. ...

Red spherical lanterns hung in the tent and under the sheds of the verandahs. We were led to the western wing. Here, felt mats had been spread on the sleeping platform. There were also four pillows with the ends decorated with embroidery placed on chests. These were samples of the bride's needlework exhibited for public view. The room had obviously been redecorated. Strips of red paper with Chinese characters had been glued everywhere and, on one of them was a list of the more important gifts given to the young couple by relatives. The wedding was said to have cost as much as 200,000 cash. There was a table prepared for worshipping in front of the door, and on it there was a tablet with, as they told us, three Chinese characters on yellow ground: 'heaven', 'emperor' (Huangdi), and 'parents'. Two small lamps stood in front of the table. ...

Two felt mats were spread in the courtyard center; they were white below and red above. They were placed one

after the other with the red side up. In front of the first mat they placed a table with the yellow tablet that had been taken from the room where we had been sitting. The groom was placed in front of the table behind the first red felt mat, while the bride was placed behind the groom and behind the second felt mat. Two men stood beside the corners of the table, and two women stood on both sides of the bride. The men set strips of yellow paper on fire and knelt, while the groom and, after him, the bride began kowtowing. Firecrackers were set off. Then all of this was taken away. The groom was forced to make a couple of additional bows inside the tent, spreading the red felt mat each time...

The guests, who had already had some alcohol, were singing dreary songs. The ceremony of delivering the gifts started after an hour. ... The gifts consisted of pieces of cloth and quadrangles embroidered with silk that were to be used for pillows (Potanin 2015:175–177).

Gaohu

Parents hosting a wedding for their child invited their clan members to their home seven to ten days before the wedding to discuss preparations. This gathering, known as *gaohu*, was typically held about seven days before the wedding at the prospective bride's home and about ten days prior at the prospective groom's home. The groom's family required more time to prepare, as the wedding festivities at the groom's home lasted at least four days.

Gaohu was usually held at night, during which a male *zongna* 'general manager' and a female *baku nainai/baku nini* 'storeroom-guarding granny' were selected from among clan members. The *zongna* was a respected clan member familiar with wedding etiquette. He was responsible for overseeing all arrangements and directing everyone's work.

The host did not allow guests to take bags or baskets they had used to bring wedding gifts back to their homes empty.

Wedding breads, *puzuo* 'a type of fried bread', and *manteng* 'steamed bread about thirty centimeters in diameter' were given as *khezhighe* 'return gifts'. A piece of pork was put in the *khezhighe* for the *laomei* 'matchmaker' and *ajiu* 'maternal uncle'. There were strict requirements for *khezhighe*, so the *baku nainai* was an elderly woman familiar with relevant etiquette.

The family holding the wedding informed clan members of the planned wedding scale and preparations, such as the number of pigs, sheep, and chickens to be slaughtered. The *zongna* then assigned relevant work tasks to each member. Clan members were expected to follow the *zongna's* instructions.

Preparation for a wedding, which began the day after the *gaohu* ceremony, included purchasing wedding items such as cigarettes, liquor, vegetables, nuts, sunflower seeds, candies, and firecrackers; decorating the house; slaughtering pigs, sheep, and chickens; washing and cutting vegetables; making various types of wedding bread; and building new soil-brick stoves. Many furniture items and utensils were required for a wedding, which meant borrowing tables, chairs, benches, metal stoves, kettles, pots, bowls, dishes, liquor pitchers, cups, cleavers, knives, scoops, and chopsticks. Clan members usually brought required items from their homes to the host's home.

During the preparation period, the prospective bride intensified her practice of performing lamentations, and the prospective groom's clan members worked during the day and practiced singing wedding songs at night.

After the *gaohu* ceremony, male villagers from the same village came to the home about to host the wedding on an evening before the wedding and sang *dao*[85] 'wedding songs

[85] *Dao* is a Mangghuer noun referring to "voice," "sound," or "song," e.g., *dao ge gher* literally 'voice a make' or *dao gher* literally 'voice make' refers to 'say hello'; *dao bari* literally 'voice hold' refers to 'lose voice'; *dao bashi* literally 'song expert' refers to 'good singer'. *Daola* is a verb referring to sing, e.g., *dao daola* literally 'song sing' refers to 'sing a (wedding) song'; *dao khaila* literally 'song yell' refers to 'sing a (love) song'; *gan daolaji gezai bang* literally 'he sing-IMPERF good OBJ:COP' refers to 'he is good at singing'. Note: *Dao khaila* is an old,

traditionally performed by men'.

Day One (in the bride's home): *Aguer Dahula*

A Mangghuer wedding included a one-day ceremony at the bride's parents' home, known as *aguer dahula* 'sending-off a girl'. The day was called *aguer dahulaku duer* 'sending-off a girl day'. On this day, residents of the bride's family's village and her relatives came to her home to bid her farewell where the bride's family held an *aguer dahula* banquet. The activity of going to the bride's parents' home for the *aguer dahula* banquet was known as *shoujin bari* 'present a handkerchief' because the traditional gift that guests brought to the bride's parents' home was a basket of *manteng* 'steamed bread' (usually eight) covered with a *chighang shoujin* 'white cloth about eighty centimeters long and thirty centimeters wide'. For example, suppose someone was encountered outside on their way to an *aguer dahula* banquet and asked where they were going. In that case, they might reply, "*Bi Xiulanni gerdu shoujin barila xini* 'I'm going to Xiulan's home to attend her wedding banquet'."

In the early morning of *aguer dahulaku duer*, before relatives and villagers arrived, the bride's male clan members placed her dowry furniture - either a pair of painted wooden chests or a *kangkui* cabinet - in the courtyard of her parents' home, after which the female clan members displayed her needlework on and around the furniture. Larger needlework items, such as *yang zhentou* and *shandan*, were hung on ropes strung in the courtyard (Figure 43). *Diere qige*, *sasang hai* 'handmade shoes', *qijighetai hai dianqier* 'embroidered shoe-pads', and other small items were placed on top of and in front of the chests or *kangkui* cabinet. Her needlework items displayed in the courtyard showcased her sewing skills and were closely inspected and discussed by local women. Most of these items were gifts for the groom's family and clan members.

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rarely heard term referring to 'singing *hua er*', a type of Northwest China love song.

A bride wore a *qigejier* (Figure 48) or covered her head with a red square kerchief, dressed in a *kuguo terghuo bansher* 'blue silk robe', and sat in a corner of her *hegang* throughout the day. The bride did not appear in public on that day. As she remained on the *hegang* in her room with female relatives such as her grandmothers, aunts, and married female cousins, she was not seen by most guests, especially the men.

Her duty that day was to perform lamentations to greet the guests. Her female relatives, who sat near the window, informed the bride who was arriving, and she then performed appropriate lamentations. For example, she performed a lamentation for her *ajiu* as soon as they approached the courtyard gate. She performed while sitting, her face covered with her hands, and rocked back and forth. There were no fixed lyrics and no limits on the length of the lamentations. An experienced performer could perform an hour-long lamentation without pause. However, women sitting near the bride usually persuaded her to stop after she had performed for ten to twenty minutes. Lamentation 1: Aihou Yila, in Part Three of this book, is an example.

After greeting all the guests with lamentations in the morning, the bride relaxed and chatted quietly with those near her. When the guests left her parents' home in the late afternoon, the bride performed a farewell lamentation.

After nightfall on the evening of *aguer dahulaku duer*, the groom's family dispatched two male *mori kudierqing*[86] 'bridetakers' to the bride's home to escort her to the groom's home at midnight or in the early morning. The groom waited for the bride at his own home. He did not appear at the bride's home that night. Women from the bride's clan performed a series of wedding songs for the bridetakers asking for sewing needles and small amounts of money. The songs included Moghuolingni Andige and Suber Wula listed in Part Four.

The ceremony of the bride leaving her parents' home for the groom's home was called *shangma* 'mount a horse', as a bride was traditionally taken to the groom's home on a horse or

[86] Literally 'horse leading person'.

mule. About thirty minutes before the *shangma* ceremony, the bride began performing *shangma shu'er* 'song of blessing when mounting a horse' on the *hegang* in her room. This was a blessing lamentation to her family, relatives, and clan members. Two men from the bride's family or clan (uncles, brothers, or male cousins) walked into the bride's room. They carried her to the main room of her parents' home, where a *shiri* 'square table about eighty centimeters wide and thirty centimeters high' covered with a folded *shizhang* 'wool felt' or a blanket was placed in the center of the floor in front of the *hegang*. The bride continued performing *shangma shu'er* as she was carried to the main room and after being seated on the *shiri* table.

Locals typically placed a *shiri* table in the center of the *hegang* for daily use. Sitting on tables was considered taboo in Mangghuer tradition, even for young children. However, during a *shangma* ceremony, a bride was allowed to sit on the *shiri* table while performing *shangma shu'er*.

As soon as the bride sat on the *shiri* table facing the door of the main room, one of her relatives handed eight pairs of red chopsticks to her right hand. Surrounded by family members and relatives, she continued performing *shangma shu'er*, blessing her grandparents, parents, uncles, aunts, brothers, sisters, cousins, nephews, nieces, as well as villagers and friends.

As the *shangma* time approached, her relatives nearby urged her repeatedly by saying, "*Aguer, shuernang kerla* 'Girl, please toss the chopsticks'." Eventually, the bride tossed the chopsticks over her left shoulder.

Next, the men who brought her from her *hegang* to the main room carried her through the doorway of her parents' main room and courtyard gate, and either put her on horseback or seated her in a car. The two bridetakers from the groom's clan had no physical contact with the bride, who continued performing *shangma shu'er* until she left her village.

The *khurengqi*,[87] consisting of ten to fifteen male family members and relatives of the bride, along with two *songqin*[88] 'bride-escorting women', escorted the bride with her dowry to the groom's home. The bride's head was covered with either a *qigejier* or a red kerchief, both of which limited her sight. The two *songqin* told her to stop performing once the bride-escorting team left her village territory. An example of this is Lamentation 2: Shangma Shu'er in Part Three.

After the bride's departure, her family and clan members returned to count how many crosses the red chopsticks had made. The chopsticks symbolized gold pillars, gold beams, gold purlins, and gold rafters for building a golden mansion as described in Lamentation 2: Shangma Shu'er. The more crosses were made, the more fortune would come to the family.

Historically, a bride was taken to the groom's home on a horse, mule, or donkey. Tractor trailers came into use in the late 1980s. In the late 1990s-early 2000s, Tianjin Dafa[89] were common. In 2024, a bride was taken to the groom's home by car. Two bridetakers did not need to lead a horse. However, *shangma* 'mount a horse' continued to describe the bride's departure from her parents' home. For example, when people asked the time a bride would leave for the groom's home, they said, "*Shini shinagu jidiandi shangma gela* 'What time will the bride mount the horse'?" In some mountain villages where villagers raised horses or mules, a bride was taken by a horse or a mule one hundred to 200 meters from her parents' courtyard gate where she dismounted and got into a car.

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[87] *Khurengqi* and *khurongqi* are alternative pronunciations.

[88] The selection of *songqin* was strict. Both *songqin* were married and neither divorced nor widows. Additionally, both understood complex *songqin* etiquette, and at least one needed to be familiar with the traditional Mangghuer bride hairstyle.

[89] A small van jointly produced by Tianjin Huali Automobile Co., Ltd (China) and Daihatsu Motor Co., Ltd. (Japan) 1984-2002 (https://baike.baidu.com/item/大发/9107986, accessed 3 January 2024).

Figure 48. *Qigejier*, *baotou*, *suoluozhuer nixier*, and *kuguo bansher* 'blue robe' were a Mangghuer bride's typical costume. A plastic model in Baqiao Folk Custom Museum,[90] Dazizhuang Village, Zhongchuan Township (July 2020, Wen Yinxian, b. 1974).

[90] 巴乔民俗博物馆。

Day One (in the groom's home): *Shouke*

On the same day, the day the bride's family held an *aguer dahula* banquet, the groom's family received close relatives at their home and offered cigarettes, liquor, tea, and food. The wedding ceremony on the first day at the groom's home was called *shouke* 'receiving guest', and the day was known as *shoukeni duer* 'guest-receiving day'.

Objects such as disused *yangbughang* 'millstones' (Figure 49a) and *luchu* 'stone rollers for threshing grain' (Figure 49b) around the groom's home were removed or covered with red cloth on that day. Locals believed that stones drilled into specific shapes and rotated countless times could absorb evil spiritual energy and cause harm to people, but that the color red could ward off this influence.

Before the bride and her escorting team arrived, the groom's clan members prepared a pile of straw and a *zuodeng* 'stool' about twenty to forty meters outside the courtyard gate of the groom's home. A *zuodeng* was a *shengzi*[91] 'open wooden container' (Figures 50a and 50b) filled with grain, usually corn or beans, with coins wrapped in red cloth buried inside.

As soon as the bride-escorting team approached, the groom's female clan members lit the straw pile and sang the bride-welcoming song Shangdang Qila,[92] welcoming the bride, who was thought to carry a very powerful evil spirit known as *xinren sha* 'evil spirit surrounding a bride', which the fire could drive away.

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[91] An open wooden container with a square, wide top and a narrow bottom, used for measuring or holding grain, as shown in Figures 50a and 50b. The dimensions of a *shengzi* were approximately thirty-five centimeters at the top, thirty centimeters at the bottom, and thirty centimeters in height.

[92] *Shangdang qila* literally '*shangdang* comb up' refers to "combing up *shangdang*." Traditionally, married Mangghuer women's hair buns, known as *shangtu* or *shangdang*, were positioned higher than those of unmarried young women. Therefore, the process of changing an unmarried young woman's hairstyle to that of a married woman was referred to as "rising up *shangdang*."

Two men in the bride-escorting team carried the bride down from the horse or car and placed her on the *zuodeng* outside the groom's courtyard gate. The direction the bride faced was determined by a *yinyang* and differed for each bride. The ceremony, from when the bride was carried down from the horse or car until she was carried into the groom's courtyard by two men, was called the *xiama* 'dismount a horse' ceremony.

Accompanied by the singing of Shangdang Qila, a person from the groom's clan, chosen by the *yinyang* based on their zodiac animals, approached the bride from behind holding a comb and combed the ends of her hair three times. This act symbolically marked the transformation of the bride's hairstyle from that of an unmarried woman to that of a married woman. It was the ritual known as *suzuzhuer sangmula* 'comb the (bride's) hair ends'. A formal hair-changing process was carried out slowly by two *songqin* after the bride was brought into the groom's home. While there were no restrictions on age or gender for the person who symbolically changed the bride's hairstyle, divorced men and women, widows, widowers, and anyone with a disability were not permitted to perform the *suzuzhuer sangmula* ritual. It was also acceptable for a person from the groom's village to carry out this task if the groom's family could not find someone from their clan who met the *yinyang's* requirements.

Once seated on the *zuodeng* and after her hair had been combed three times, the bride reached her right hand into the grain in the *zuodeng* under her buttocks and tossed it three times toward her parents' home, signifying sending wealth to her parents and siblings. Immediately afterward, the two men who had just helped the bride dismount from the horse or get out of the car carried her quickly toward the groom's courtyard gate. After the bride was carried away, the groom immediately picked up the *zuodeng* on the ground and ran toward his courtyard gate. A saying in Sanchuan was that whoever, the groom or the bride, entered the groom's courtyard first would play a leading role in their future life. Consequently, the groom's clan members tried to obstruct the bride, while the

bride's escort team attempted to hinder the groom as they rushed toward the groom's courtyard gate. The women who sang Shangdang Qila kept walking and singing in front of the bride until she was carried onto the groom's *hegang*.

When a bride was carried through the groom's courtyard gate, a man from the groom's clan cut the head off a rooster on the threshold of the gate because locals believed that roosters and their blood could drive away evil spirits.

Figures 49a and 49b. Disused *yangbughang* 'millstone' (Figure 49a) and *luchu* 'stone roller for threshing grain' (Figure 49b) (May 2010, Hanjiashan Village, Wen Xiangcheng).

Figure 49a

Figure 49b

Figures 50a and 50b. *Shengzi* (August 2024, Wen Lan).

Figure 50a

Figure 50b

After being carried onto the groom's *hegang*, the bride sat facing a corner of the *hegang*, with the two *songqin* seated on either side of her. Following that, the *gaitou zheke* 'lift the (bride's) veil' ritual began. The group of women who had just performed Shangdang Qila started singing the Gaitou Zheke song in the room where the wedding breads were stored, and then proceeded into the groom's room. Leading the group was a woman holding a wooden tray bearing a specific number of wedding breads.

When the leading woman placed the wooden tray containing wedding breads on the *shiri* table in the center of the *hegang* of the groom's room, one woman from the singing group stepped to the edge of the *hegang*, turned around, and stood with her back to the bride and two *songqin* seated on the *hegang*. She placed both hands behind her and lifted the back of her upper garment to form a pouch-like shape. Meanwhile, the more experienced of the two *songqin* took out a pair of earrings from the bride's dowry. These earrings had been brought to the bride's home a few hours earlier by two bridetakers and handed to the bride's mother.

This *songqin* knelt at the edge of the *hegang* or stood on the ground with her back to the singing group, holding the earrings in her hands behind her back. Back-to-back with the woman from the singing group, she placed the earrings into the pouch formed by the back of the woman's garment. After receiving the earrings, the group of women continued singing as they exited the groom's room and walked back to the bread storage room, where they handed the earrings to the *baku nainai*.

While singing continuously, they picked up another tray of wedding breads prepared by the *baku nainai*, and returned to the groom's room. This time, they used the same method to deliver a red kerchief or a black headscarf, *baotou*, that the bridetakers had brought to the bride's home earlier that night and handed to the bride's mother. Once the singing group received the kerchief or *baotou*, they exited the groom's room again.

On their third entry, they followed the same procedure to deliver a *kuguo bansher* 'blue robe' or a *nikai* 'sheepskin robe'. This robe had also been brought, along with the earrings and red kerchief or black *baotou*, to the bride's home earlier by the bridetakers.

While the original purpose of these three items brought by the bridetakers was for the bride to wear them on her journey to the groom's home, the tradition was largely ceremonial, as the bride typically wore her own clothing and headdresses. Nonetheless, these items were essential for the ritual. They were brought back and ceremonially returned to the groom's home by the *songqin* during the *gaitou zheke* ritual.

Throughout the *gaitou zheke* ritual, no verbal communication took place. The singing group sang continuously. The wedding breads placed on the *shiri* table were taken to the bread storage room and handed to the *baku nainai* after the ritual concluded. Two days later, when the two *songqin* departed from the groom's home, the breads were given to them as gifts to take back to their homes.

The two *songqin* began dressing the bride once the ritual was concluded. They smoothed out the wrinkles on the bride's *bansher*, changed her unmarried Mangghuer women's hairstyle into a bride's hairstyle, adorned her hair with *miangu zer*, and placed *suoluozhuer nixier* in her ears. Before the 1990s, Mangghuer peasant women, as well as Mangghuer brides at rural weddings, typically did not wear makeup. Only a very small number of Mangghuer women engaged in non-agricultural work used cosmetics such as eyebrow pencils and lipstick.

Day Two (in the groom's home): *Khureng*

The groom's family held a *khureng* 'banquet' ceremony on the second day of the wedding to entertain their close relatives who had arrived at the groom's home the day before, and the *khurengqi* 'the bride's escorts'. This is *khurengni duer* 'banquet day'.

At an auspicious hour in the early morning of this day, as determined by the *yinyang*, the dressed-up bride was escorted from the groom's *hegang* by two *songqin* to the groom's courtyard for the *baitang* 'groom and bride kowtow to heaven, earth, and the deities at a wedding' ritual. A red blanket or wool felt was placed before a table in the groom's courtyard. On the table was a tablet made of red paper featuring the Chinese characters "*Gong feng tian di ri yue shen fo zhi wei* 'Place for enshrining Heaven, Earth, Sun, Moon, Buddhas, and the Deities'," a pair of *perghang zhula* 'lamps filled with edible oil dedicated to the deities', and a dish of nuts and candies.

The *baitang* ritual was conducted under the guidance of an eloquent male host familiar with the relevant etiquette. During the ritual, the groom and bride stood on the red blanket or wool felt and kowtowed or bowed to the tablet three times. The directions of kowtowing and bowing, determined by the *yinyang*, differed among weddings. The groom knelt and kowtowed first to Heaven and Earth, then to the Sun and Moon, and finally to the Buddhas and deities, while the bride bowed respectfully at each step. In some villages, the groom and bride first kowtowed or bowed to Heaven and Earth, then to the Buddhas and deities, and finally to their ancestors. After around 2000, some grooms and brides began bowing to each other at the end of the *baitang* ritual under the guidance of the ritual host, a result of the influence of Han Chinese weddings seen in movies and TV dramas after television sets were widely used locally.

After the *baitang* ritual, the groom and bride returned to their wedding room, and the ritual host scattered nuts and candies from the table into the air for children to snatch.

Traditionally, a *baitang* ritual marked the establishment of a marital relationship between a man and a woman. Before the 1950s, Mangghuer couples did not have marriage certificates, and some couples who married even in the 1980s still did not obtain them. A wedding ceremony and a *baitang* ritual were regarded as sufficient recognition of their marriage.

The groom's relatives and all *khurengqi* gathered at the groom's home around nine o'clock in the morning and were seated at banquet tables according to the groom's family's arrangement. Wedding seating arrangements were a serious matter, especially the two or three most honored seats at each of the three main banquet tables in the main room of the groom's parents' home. The most honored seats at each banquet table were the two or three seats at the innermost side of the table, arranged for specific guests, such as the *ajiu* and the matchmaker. Seating arrangements on both sides of the banquet tables were less strict, with guests seated according to the order of their *benbei* 'generation rank' and *nasi* 'age'. Furthermore, except for young children, men and women were seated separately at different banquet tables, particularly the adults. If the host incorrectly arranged seats for the guests or the guests sat in the wrong seats, it could cause conflicts.

The three main banquet tables placed in the groom's parents' main room were the one on the *hegang* and two on the *kujier* 'floor of a room' (refer to Figure 51 for more details on the layout of the main banquet tables at a traditional Mangghuer wedding). *Shouxi* 'first banquet table', placed in the middle of the main room, was considered the most honored at the banquet. The two main seats at *shouxi* were arranged for the *ajiu* of the groom and the bride. The second most honored table was *shangxi* 'upper banquet table', the table on the *hegang* with three main seats. The middle seat was reserved for the matchmaker.[93] The groom's father's *ajiu* and the bride's father's *ajiu* sat on either side of the matchmaker. If the groom's father's *ajiu* or the bride's father's *ajiu* had passed away or did not attend the wedding, their sons could take these *shangxi* table seats.

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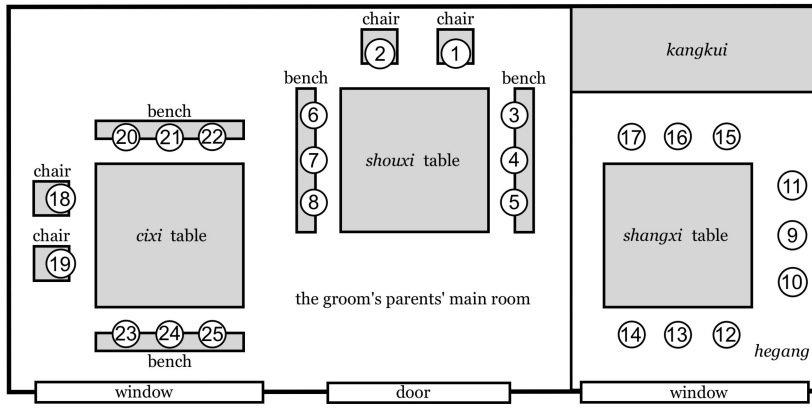
[93] In Mangghuer villages of Gangou and Qianhe townships, the matchmaker sat at the *shouxi* table instead of sitting at the *shangxi* table on the *hegang*. The groom's family placed three main seats at the *shouxi* table: the matchmaker sat in the middle, the bride's *ajiu* sat to the matchmaker's left, and the groom's *ajiu* sat to the matchmaker's right.

Figure 51. The three main banquet tables layout at a traditional Mangghuer wedding (2024, created by Wen Xiangcheng).



Seat 1 at the *shouxi* table: the bride's *ajiu*.
Seat 2 at the *shouxi* table: the groom's *ajiu*.
Seats 3-8 at the *shouxi* table: male *khurengqi* and other male guests.
Seat 9 at the *shangxi* table on the *hegang*: the matchmaker.
Seat 10 at the *shangxi* table on the *hegang*: the bride's father's *ajiu*.
Seat 11 at the *shangxi* table on the *hegang*: the groom's father's *ajiu*.
Seats 12-17 at the *shangxi* table on the *hegang*: male *khurengqi* and other male guests.
Seat 18 at the *cixi* table: one of the bride's father's elder or younger sisters' husbands.
Seat 19 at the *cixi* table: one of the groom's father's elder or younger sisters' husbands.
Seats 20-25 at the *cixi* table: male *khurengqi* and other male guests.

The third most honored table was the *sixi/cixi* 'secondary banquet table', which adjoined *shouxi* and faced *shangxi*. The two main seats at *sixi/cixi* were reserved for one of the groom's father's sisters' husbands and one of the bride's father's sisters' husbands.

Traditionally, if there were three side-by-side main seats at a banquet table, the middle seat was considered the most honored, followed by the left seat, which was more honored

than the right one. If there were two side-by-side main seats, the left seat was considered more honored than the one on the right. At a wedding banquet, all the guests from the bride's side were regarded as more honorable than those from the groom's side. Consequently, when the groom's and the bride's *ajiu* sat side by side in the two adjacent seats behind the *shouxi* table, the bride's *ajiu*, considered the most honorable at the banquet, sat to the left of the groom's *ajiu*.

At the *shangxi* table on the *hegang* where guests sat cross-legged, the matchmaker sat in the middle, with the bride's father's *ajiu* to his left and the groom's father's *ajiu* to his right. At the *sixi/cixi* table, the husband of one of the bride's father's sisters sat to the left of the two main seats, while the husband of one of the groom's father's sisters sat to the right.

The same tradition was also applied on other occasions. In a *baitang* ritual, the groom stood to the bride's left. In a graveyard, a man's grave was on the left of his wife's grave. When a couple was photographed, the husband stood or sat to his wife's left. However, the tradition was flexible in daily life.

The bride sat on the groom's *hegang* facing a corner of the *hegang* with her back to her *songqin* and the other female relatives at the groom's home. A *songqin* sat on either side behind her. She was expected to say very little, speak quietly, and confine her public appearances to occasional toilet trips.[94] Other guests, except those seated in the groom's wedding room, could not see the bride that day.

Men from the groom's clan performed a type of wedding song known as *dao*, traditionally performed by men to honor the guests and offer them toasts. This lasted the whole day, with a *dao* performed every ten to thirty minutes. Performers were not fixed. They took turns performing *dao* that were familiar to them. If someone did not know all a *dao*'s lyrics, he performed with others. The *dao* performed for different guests were also not fixed, but the same *dao* could not be performed more than once on the same day. For example, Menlou'er in Part Four was

[94] She rarely drank or ate in fear of a subsequent toilet visit.

a *dao* performed at the groom's home and could be sung to the *ajiu*, the matchmaker, or other guests.

The performers usually stood at the door of the groom's parents' main room when singing. At the beginning, two male singers facing the door sang the opening *dao*, and each of the following *dao* was performed by four male singers. They stood on both sides of the door and took turns singing to specific guests, such as the matchmaker and the *ajiu*. Most *dao* were in the local Chinese dialect. After each *dao* performed by the groom's clan, the guests who received the *dao* were expected to respond with a *dao* praising the good quality and abundance of cigarettes, liquor, tea, and food, and thank the host for his hospitality. If the target guests of the *dao* were not good singers, they invited someone next to them to sing on their behalf.

It should be noted that each time people from the groom's clan toasted, they addressed all the male guests from the bride-escorting team as "*ajiu*," regardless of the guests' age, including even a child.

Two plates of *baozi*[95] were placed on each banquet table at about three PM, signaling it was time for the *diere qige bari* 'present pillow ears' ritual. All guests gathered in the courtyard while the bride remained in the groom's room. The two *songqin* brought all the bride's needlework gifts to the courtyard and put them on a table with assistance from the groom's female relatives. Three young men were selected from the *khurengqi* to distribute needlework gifts. One held a wooden tray with needlework, another a wooden tray with two liquor cups, and the third a liquor pitcher. The two *songqin* worked with the three young men to distribute the needlework gifts to the matchmaker, *ajiu*, and the groom's family, relatives, and clan members, with guidance from a male family member of the groom.

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[95] Steamed stuffed dumpling fillings were meat, vegetables, brown sugar, or cooked flour with pork fat. The diameter of a *baozi* was about five centimeters. Larger steamed dumplings about eight centimeters in diameter were known as *saizhuer* or *caizhuer*.

Every time the man who guided the *diere qige bari* ritual announced a gift recipient, two *songqin* placed the corresponding needlework gifts on one of the trays without liquor cups. The man holding the liquor pitcher filled the two cups with liquor, and the three young men walked to the gift recipient and made three *zuoyi* 'bow with their hands clasped in front of their chest'. The gift recipient was expected to *zuoyi* at the same time. After three *zuoyi*, the man holding the tray with liquor cups approached to offer liquor to the gift recipient. Once the gift recipient had drunk two cups of liquor, the man holding the gifts brought them to the recipient. The recipient made three *zuoyi* in return upon receiving the gifts. The three young men made *zuoyi* simultaneously.

The groom's gifts were the most generous of all, usually kept until the end and delivered by one of the bride's younger brothers or nephews. The groom was expected to put cash on the tray to express his gratitude after receiving the gifts.

When the *diere qige bari* ritual began, another ritual, the *wuge keli* 'speak words' ritual, also started. Two boys stood in the center of the groom's courtyard and, with tears in their eyes, delivered a speech lasting about ten minutes. They stated that their sister (the bride) had learned too few skills and cultural norms and requested that her parents-in-law be patient and understanding while guiding her. For this reason, the bride's escort team was expected to include at least two young boys, who might have been the bride's younger brothers, younger male cousins, or nephews.

Once the ritual of presenting the bride's needlework concluded, the groom's family placed several pieces of fabric for making clothes and a stack of cash on the table. A man from the groom's clan gave a speech expressing gratitude to the bride's family and explained that the fabric and cash were *xieniang* 'thank mother' gifts for the bride's mother for raising the bride and teaching her so many skills. A male representative of the bride-escorting team also gave a speech, saying that if he took none of the *xieniang* gifts, the audience might laugh at him for not understanding Mangghuer etiquette, but if he took all of

them, it would be too much. After the speech, he took a small portion of the fabric and cash and returned what remained to the groom's family. At this point, the matchmaker approached the table, took some fabric and cash from what remained to give to the bride's family representative, and returned the rest to the groom's family.

This ritual was preplanned. The amount of *xieniang* money had been agreed upon in advance in a meeting of the matchmaker, a groom's family representative, and a bride's family representative. The groom's family usually placed more money on the table than agreed upon to demonstrate generosity. The matchmaker returned only the excess amount to the groom's family. While people from the groom's and bride's sides typically spent about ten to twenty minutes pretending to persuade each other to take more money and fabric, the attendees understood this was just part of the wedding ritual.

All the guests returned to their seats to continue eating, talking, smoking, drinking, playing drinking games, and singing *dao* as the *xieniang* ritual concluded.

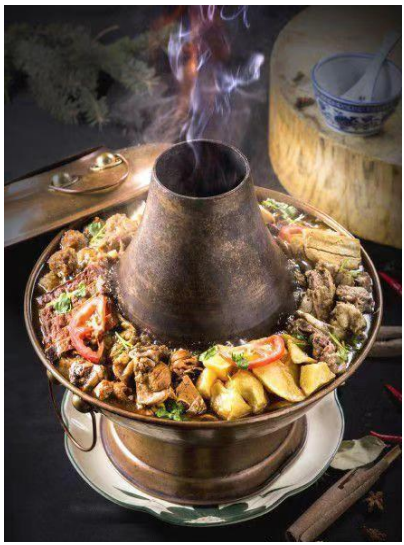
Khureng usually ended around sunset, marked by a signal alerting the guests that the ceremony was drawing to a close. This was *shiquanni xi* 'ten-completeness banquet' or *si panzi* 'four dishes/plates'. *Shiquanni xi* was a general term for ten bowls of pork from different parts of a pig (body, head, feet, heart, liver) using different cooking methods (fried, steamed, boiled). It was expensive, so only wealthy families could afford *shiquanni xi*. The last course of a wedding banquet for poor families was *si panzi*, which consisted of four dishes of stir-fried turnip slices with pork. My maternal grandmother said that in the past, the ending dish of a wedding banquet was *nanguo*, a local hotpot (Figures 52a and 52b), which was a part of *shiquanni xi*. Locals explained that *nanguo* was pronounced as *nanguo* 'sad', implying the bride's brothers, clan members, and relatives who escorted her to the groom's home felt sad leaving her in a strange village. In fact, *nanguo* was a mispronunciation of *nuanguo* 'warm pot', a type of hotpot popular in

northwestern China, including the Mangghuer area. *Nanguo* ceased in the 1950s. I have never seen a *nanguo* at a Sanchuan wedding banquet.

Figures 52a and 52b. *Nanguo/nuanguo* was once the final dish of a Mangghuer wedding banquet (August 2024, Wen Lan).

Figure 52a.

Figure 52b.



When *nanguo*, *shiquanni xi*, or *si panzi* were placed on the banquet tables, all guests knew the time to leave was drawing near. When they finished eating, the male guests, including the *khurengqi*, began singing *dao* from their seats. The male guests from the same table formed a singing group, creating at least three groups of *dao* singers. As the groups slowly walked out of the house and courtyard while singing, every four or five men from the groom's clan stood opposite each *dao* group, holding a liquor pitcher and cups. The guests walked forward and sang while men from the groom's clan slowly retreated and offered liquor.

When guests finished singing two or four lines of *dao*, men from the groom's clan responded with two or four lines of *dao*. The guests sang about how sumptuous the food was, how expensive the cigarettes were, how delicious the liquor was,

using exaggerated praise, and how they (the guests) would take away illness, pain, and disasters while leaving the groom's courtyard. In contrast, the men from the groom's clan sang about how the food at today's banquet lacked flavor, the cigarettes were cheap and tasted like grass, the liquor was of poor quality and bland as water, their service was not attentive enough, and they hoped the guests would forgive them. In some villages, men from the groom's clan did not sing any other lyrics but repeated "*Gaoyan*, *gaoyan*, *hao gaoyan* 'Precious words, precious words, such precious words'!" using a *dao* melody to respond to the guests' praise and blessings.

All the male *khurengqi* returned to the bride's parents' home in the evening, while the two *songqin* stayed in the groom's home to accompany the bride.

Day Three (in the groom's home): *Xiejiu*

The ceremony in the groom's home on the third wedding day was known as *xiejiu* 'thank-you liquor' or *huoxi* 'congratulation'. Therefore, this day was called *xiejiuni duer* 'thank-you liquor day' or *huoxini duer* 'congratulation day'. *Qingjia awu*[96] 'bride's father' or the bride's grandfather,[97] along with the groom's villagers, distant relatives, and friends, came to the groom's home to attend the wedding on this day. Some Mangghuer interpreted "*xiejiu*" as "thank *ajiu*," and "*xiejiuni duer*" as "thank-*ajiu* day." However, in traditional Mangghuer weddings, *xiejiu* day was not the day for hosting the groom's and bride's *ajiu*. Their *ajiu* visited the groom's home during the *khureng* ceremony held the day before. Nevertheless, due to the lack of

[96] The groom's side referred to the bride's father and mother as *qingjia awu* and *qingjia ayi*, respectively. The bride's side also referred to the groom's father and mother as *qingjia awu* and *qingjia ayi*. However, the groom and bride addressed each other's parents as *adi/ada/aba* 'father' and *ana* 'mother'.

[97] If the bride's grandfather was under the age of around seventy, in good health, and physically agile, the bride's father usually requested his father to participate in the *xiejiu* ceremony at the groom's home as a sign of respect and filial piety for his father.

written records, it remained inconclusive whether "*xiejiu*" refers to "thank-you liquor" or "thank *ajiu*."

On this day, the bride was expected to visit the groom's clansmen's homes accompanied by the *songqin*, the groom, and several of the groom's female relatives, such as his father's sisters or his married sisters. This ritual was known as *qingdao di* 'invitation to eat'.

Some female relatives from the groom's clan presented as ugly couples who dressed and acted in unusual ways to amuse the bride on the way to the homes of the groom's clansmen during the *qingdao di* ritual. They usually wore glasses made of turnip slices, tattered hats, or plastic flowers, painted their faces to resemble beards, wore outlandish clothes such as *nikai* 'sheepskin robe' turned inside-out, danced with exaggerated movements, joked, and sang in odd ways. The bride was expected to maintain a dignified and reserved demeanor, refraining from bursting into laughter, no matter how humorous the women's performances were. If she felt she had to laugh, she was expected only to smile slightly.

The other rituals on this day, except for *diere qige bari* ritual and *qingdao di* ritualx, were similar to those of the previous day - *khurengni duer*. The groom's clan men performed different *dao* for important guests, and the food, cigarettes, and liquor offered to the guests were the same as the day before. The banquet on this day also ended around sunset. When the guests finished eating the last dish *nanguo*, *shiquanni xi*, or *si panzi*, the male guests started singing *dao* and walked out of the groom's home, just as the guests on the previous day had done.

On this evening, some men and women from the groom's family and relatives entered the groom and bride's bedroom to have a *zhuer huoluogha* 'mix (the groom and bride's) zodiac symbols' party, which aimed to help the groom and bride quickly become familiar with each other through games with sexual overtones. The newlywed couple were expected to have sex the next night or the night after the next.

At least one of the two *songqin* was a female peer of the bride's generation and assisted the bride during the party. If one of the *songqin* was a woman of higher generation than the bride, such as the bride's aunt, she avoided the party and went to another room to chat with others.

There were strict rules regarding the generation rank and age of those attending the *zhuer huoluogha* party. The strictest was that regardless of gender, all the party participants must be of the same generation as the groom. Those of different generations were not allowed to attend. The male participants included the groom's younger brothers and younger male cousins who were approximately fifteen years old or older, as well as the husbands of the groom's older sisters, younger sisters, and female cousins. The female participants included the wives of the groom's older brothers or older male cousins. Those from the groom's family and relatives who were of the same generation as the groom and not allowed to attend the party included his older brothers, older male cousins, older and younger sisters, older and younger female cousins, and the wives of his younger brothers and younger male cousins.

Common games at this party were *alima ghazhagha* 'require the groom and bride to bite an apple', and *yan diankegha* 'require the bride to light cigarettes for others'. When playing the *alima ghazhagha* game, one participant stood on the *hegang* and held a string with an apple tied to the end. The groom and bride were required to bite from each side at the same time without touching it with their hands. Each time the groom's and bride's mouths neared the apple, the person controlling the apple moved it quickly, so the groom's and bride's mouths touched each other. Several failures were usually required for the groom and bride to reach a tacit understanding and bite the apple simultaneously. If they successfully bit off a piece of apple, they had to place the apple from their mouths into each other's mouths and eat it.

During the *yan diankegha* game, the bride was told to light cigarettes for those who smoked. However, when she attempted to do so, the men would wet the ends of their

cigarettes or blow out the flame of the match or lighter, making it difficult for her to complete the task.

Sometimes, participants inserted a chopstick in a bottle and required the groom and bride to use their tongues simultaneously to lift the chopstick out of the bottle. The chopstick was usually shortened to make the task more challenging and intimate for the groom and bride, leaving only about one centimeter protruding from the bottle's opening.

Some games had obvious sexual overtones (Figure 53). If the groom and bride were reluctant to cooperate in playing the games, participants beat them with a cooked pigtail that suggested a penis.

Figure 53. Props prepared for the *zhuer huoluogha* party included a green onion rhizome and a modified tomato. The green onion rhizome suggested a penis, while the tomato, which had been cut open with some black tea leaves placed in the incision, represented a vagina (December 2014, Wenjia Village, Zhongchuan Township, Wen Xiangcheng).

Day Four: *Nuer Khari*

On the morning of the fourth day of the wedding, the bride left the groom's home and returned to her parents' village with the groom and two *songqin*. There, the four of them visited the bride's natal family and the homes of her clansmen. The ceremony in which a bride returned to her parents' home during the wedding was known as *nuer khari* 'return to parents' home' or *shini shinagu nuer khari* 'a new woman (bride) returns to her parents' home', and accordingly, the day was referred to *nuer khariku duer* 'the day (a bride) returns to her parents' home'. Their visits to the bride's clansmen's homes were called *qingdao di*, just like the *qingdao di* ritual that had taken place a day earlier in the groom's clansmen's homes.

After completing the *qingdao di* ritual at the homes of the bride's clansmen, the two *songqin* fulfilled their duties and returned to their homes. The bride came back to the groom's home before dinnertime in the late afternoon of that day accompanied by the groom and her mother or paternal grandmother.

While waiting for the bride's arrival, the groom's female relatives rolled out a large, thin wheat flour dough sheet using a long rolling pin and folded it into a long, wide strip. Once the bride arrived, they invited her to the kitchen and asked her to cut the prepared dough sheet into noodles. Her cooking skills were then evaluated based on the width and uniformity of the noodles she cut.

At times, women from the groom's clan played tricks on the bride while folding the flour dough sheet; for example, they placed a piece of transparent plastic film between the folded dough layers. It was difficult to detect the plastic film without close inspection, making it challenging and embarrassing for the bride to cut the noodles. However, a bride might have witnessed this trick before, or an older female relative might have warned her to inspect the dough carefully before cutting. Consequently, a bride commonly unfolded the flour dough sheet first, checked for hidden plastic film, and removed it if

any was found. She felt neither offended nor insulted if she had difficulty cutting the noodles because she understood it was good-natured teasing.

After cutting the noodles, the bride used a new dish towel to wipe a pile of bowls and a handful of chopsticks, which the females had placed on the chopping board earlier. It was just a ritual - all the bowls and chopsticks were already clean.

After completing these tasks, the bride commonly requested to participate in the cooking process, "*Ayi shinajiasidu nukuer berji gher xidaji hua ba* 'Can I help aunts and sisters-in-law tend the kitchen fire'?"

Tending the kitchen fire was a relatively simple task in the cooking process. The bride made this request to imply that her cooking skills were inferior to those of the women in the kitchen. This was also a ritual, and the women in the kitchen did not allow the bride to participate in the actual cooking. They typically replied:

Niaoduer qi yitian qingdao diji yadaji bi a. Du qi mali hangburala xi, zaihang diersinang zangnangraghaji ya nia. Zaohangdu ningtaigejia kong bang, nukuer berku lai kerli nia.

Today, you must be tired after a busy day of *qingdao di*. Please go rest now and be careful not to stain your beautiful clothes. There are enough people in the kitchen, and your help is not needed.

The bride returned to the groom's room, removed her *bansher*, changed into new everyday clothes, took out the silver hairpins from her hair, and chatted freely with those around her.

Next, the groom's female clan members cooked noodles, including those cut by the bride, for dinner.

The noodles prepared that evening were the final meal of the wedding at the groom's home, known as *shidaomian*

'cleaver-testing noodles'.[98] The purpose of preparing *shidaomian* was to evaluate the bride's cooking and cleaning skills by assessing her ability to use a cleaver and to clean up the bowls and chopsticks, even though she only cut a small portion of the noodles and wiped the already clean bowls and chopsticks with a towel.

As it was the bride's first time participating in a meal prepared at the groom's home, even if only symbolically, all the adult guests placed cash in the bowls to thank the bride after eating the *shidaomian* noodles. The cash was later collected and given to the bride.

Figures 54a and 54b. Stacked bowls containing thank-the-bride cash, waiting for the bride to collect them after eating *shidaomian* noodles (November 2023, Guanting Town, An Lantian).

[98] According to Li et *al.* (2003:254), *shidaomian* 'ten cleaver noodles' refers to noodles cut ten times with a cleaver. I never heard this during my years of fieldwork in Sanchuan, nor have I seen or heard such an explanation elsewhere. The number of times a bride cuts noodles was not fixed.

However, in some mountain villages in Sanchuan, it was customary for the bride to collect the bowls and chopsticks from each table after the guests and clansmen finished eating. Some guests teased the bride using chopsticks to stack the bowls containing thank-the-bride cash after the meal, as shown in Figures 54a and 54b. Bowls might have been stacked so high that the bride needed to be very careful when removing them, which was even more challenging with unfamiliar people watching. Only a calm bride could complete this task and avoid the embarrassment of a bowl falling to the *hegang* or the floor and breaking.

CHANGES IN THE 2020S

The wedding customs described above typified my parents' generation and earlier. Changes in modern China have profoundly impacted the lives of the Mangghuer. Traditional weddings have become increasingly rare, especially since 2000. In 2024, the few home weddings had brides who no longer performed lamentations or wore *miangu zer* and blue *terghuo bansher*. Instead, they wore red Chinese-style wedding dresses with traditional Tu/Monguor patterns or white Western wedding dresses. During the traditional *shangma* ceremony, a bride in 2024 sat on a *shiri* table in the center of her parents' main room for several minutes without performing a *shangma shu'er* lamentation and then tossed the red chopsticks in her right hand over her left shoulder. Very few brides gave a short blessing to their family and relatives in Mangghuer or MSC.

Red Chinese-style bridal wedding dresses with Tu/Monguor features, as shown in Figures 56 and 57, purchased or rented from local wedding dress stores, were popular in Sanchuan in 2024. The Mangghuer bride in Figure 56 was from Nongchang Village, Zhongchuan Township and married a man in Gangou Township. A professional makeup artist and manicurist in Guanting Town did her makeup, hairstyle, hair accessories, and painted fingernails. Her hairstyle, headdress, and makeup resembled those of local Han

brides, while her dress had some features of traditional Mangghuer women's clothing. These included the machine-embroidered stripes on her upper garment and the pleated skirt inspired by traditional Mangghuer women's clothing (see Figures 6, 7, 26, 28, 35, 36, 44a, 44b, 48, 55, 60b, and 63 for traditional Mangghuer women's costumes).

The Mangghuer bride in Figure 57 was from Lüjia Hangtou Village, Guanting Town. She sat primly with her legs together on a *shiri* table shortly before leaving her parents' home for the groom's as a traditional Mangghuer bride would do. She held a handful of red chopsticks and wore handmade embroidered cloth shoes. However, she did not perform a *shangma shu'er* lamentation, and her wedding dress was a fusion of Huzhu Mongghul style (e.g., the multi-color stripes on her sleeves and the embroidered patterns on her apron with yellow tassels) and Han Chinese style, e.g., the red veil on her head and her skirt.

In 2024, almost all Mangghuer brides in Sanchuan wore "new traditional wedding dresses" with Tu/Monguor features as shown in Figures 56 and 57.

The practice of wearing "new traditional wedding dresses" began after the government called for the protection and inheritance of intangible cultural heritage in 2005, with certain Mangghuer folk activities such as the Nadun Festival,[99] Mangghuer wedding songs, and Mangghuer embroidery[100] successively recognized as national and provincial intangible cultural heritage later. The government's emphasis on intangible cultural heritage has led the younger Mangghuer generation to become aware of the uniqueness and value of their ethnic traditions, thereby strengthening their sense of ethnic identity and confidence. As a result, they have come to express their ethnic identity through practices such as brides wearing wedding dresses with Tu/Monguor features. Whether

[99] https://www.gov.cn/zhengce/content/2008-03/28/content_5917.htm, accessed 8 December 2024.
[100] https://www.minhe.gov.cn/html/427/414778.html, accessed 8 December 2024.

these features suggested Minhe Mangghuer or Huzhu Mongghul was not particularly important to them, especially given that most of them have known little about or have never even seen the traditional clothing of their own Mangghuer ethnicity due to a break in transmission. They might have been aware that their wedding attire combined ethnic features of Minhe Mangghuer and Huzhu Mongghul, but they did not mind. What mattered more to them was expressing their identity as Tu/Monguor through such practices. As Abu-Lughod commented "...everyday expressions are guided by the honor code set by official ideology (2000:237)."

In 2024, experienced bridal makeup artists and manicurists worked in Guanting Town. Makeup and nail art, which traditional brides did not have, were essential for "modern" Mangghuer brides. Before nail polish was introduced into Sanchuan, Mangghuer females used *haina* 'henna' to dye their fingernails. Few Mangghuer females dyed their fingernails with *haina* in 2024. Convenient, fast, colorful, and affordable nail polish had replaced it. Many females visited manicurists for nail polishing or extensions and sometimes had their nails painted with colorful patterns or sparkles (Figure 56).

The emergence of professional makeup artists and wedding dress stores minimized the *songqin's* role in decorating the bride and helping her dress. The custom of presenting bride's needlework gifts to the matchmaker and the groom's relatives continued, but the gifts had changed. For example, *diere qige* were replaced by modern pillowcases, and handmade cloth shoes were replaced by leather shoes bought from shoe stores. Embroidery gifts were purchased from specialized embroidery workshops where machines made many of these items.

Before the 1990s, only boys were allowed to give a speech in a *wuge keli* ritual. After around the year 2000, young girls, such as the bride's younger sisters, younger female cousins, or nieces, also participated in a *wuge keli* ritual by giving a speech.

A further important change was wedding venues, which had shifted from village homes to local commercial *shengtai yuan* 'ecological gardens'[101] beginning in about 2008 and had become very popular by 2013. In 2024, approximately nine *shengtai yuan* were operating in Sanchuan, serving as common venues for banquets and gatherings to celebrate weddings, newborns, students' success in competitive university entrance examinations, and the completion of new houses.[102]

These *shengtai yuan* were generally located in villages or at some distance from town centers. The size of a *shengtai yuan* was approximately 1,000 square meters. For example, Linjinju 'House by the Ferry' in Jijia Village, Zhongchuan Township was thirty-nine x twenty-six meters and Xingyu Jiayuan 'Apricot Rain Garden' in Songjia Village, Zhongchuan Township was twenty-two x twenty meters. A typical *shengtai yuan* featured an enclosed courtyard covered with a see-through plastic roof, several rooms, a large hall with banquet tables, a stage for singing and dancing, kitchen facilities, and an outside parking lot (Figures 58 and 59). Some *shengtai yuan* imitated traditional Mangghuer wooden houses and provided items such as *shiri* tables, *zuodeng*, *dierbanjin* 'wooden trays', and *perghang zhula* 'lamps dedicated to deities' needed during a wedding.

Although most *shengtai yuan* strove to restore the layout of village homes, the wedding atmosphere was less festive than that of the village homes. Certain traditional customs, including wedding songs, were omitted. Traditional wedding songs, characterized by relatively slow rhythms and fixed lyrics, were less appealing to younger Mangghuer compared to modern Chinese songs and modern Tibetan songs sung in Chinese, which featured lively and varied rhythms and lyrics.

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[101] A *shengtai yuan* is relatively warm in winter. Plants grow in all seasons, thus "ecological garden."

[102] Funerals were held in homes in 2024, not ecological gardens.

Figure 55. Mangghuer women in traditional costume (1934, Carter D Holton).[103]

[103] http://id.lib.harvard.edu/images/8001557324/catalog, accessed 22 September 2023. The description reads in part "Tu People with their typical clothes, Yugur people in the festival, Taochow (Lintan), Gansu, 1933. Title, description, related site note and historical note were provided by a researcher between 2015 and 2018. These fields may include misspelled words and information that was not verified. Related site(s): Lintan. 甘肃临潭. Historical: 洮州。Region: Chinghai or Kansu." The bound feet, hairstyle, and dress indicate these are Mangghuer women. The Yugur and Huzhu Mongghul did not practice foot binding.

Figure 56. A Mangghuer bride seated on the groom's *hegang* wears a wedding dress with multi-ethnic influences. The sleeves of her coat and the skirt suggest traditional Mongghul dress (2023, Gangou Township, Yang Qingkui).

Figure 57. A Mangghuer bride wearing a red Chinese-style wedding dress with traditional Mongghul patterns sits on a *shiri* table in her parents' main room just before leaving for the groom's home. She holds a handful of red chopsticks and a towel for wiping her tears (2023, Lüjia Hangtou Village, Guanting Town, Yang Qingkui).

Figure 58. Qinjia Dayuan 'Qin Village Grand Courtyard' was a typical *shengtai yuan* located in Qinjia Village, Guanting Town (14 October 2024, Qinjia Village, Guanting Town, Wen Yinxian).

Figure 59. Linjinju 'House by the Ferry' (8 September 2025, Jijia Village, Zhongchuan Township, Wen Xiangcheng).

PART THREE:
MANGGHUER BRIDAL LAMENTATIONS

BRIDAL LAMENTATION LANGUAGE FEATURES[104]

Lamentations performed by Mangghuer women, including bridal lamentations *aihou* and funeral lamentations *yanjia*, highlight distinctive linguistic features of female speech. As mentioned earlier, lamentation language differs from everyday Mangghuer in vocabulary and language expression. When performing lamentations, women employed terms and language expressions that were rarely or never used in daily communication, such as *yanjia*, *yiri*, *wulai*, *nukuer xiudier*, *shidie kuangan hangbura*, *xianhua'er maodan*, and *terghuo zhuolian* (each explained later).

The linguistic differences between lamentation language and daily Mangghuer are explained in (1) Non-daily Vocabulary, (2) Non-daily Expressions, (3) Euphemistic Expressions, and (4) Terms of Respect.

Non-Daily Vocabulary

Certain lamentation terms in Table 4 are rarely or never used in daily communication.

Table 4. Four Mangghuer lamentation terms.

Example	Lamentation	Daily Usage	Translation
1	yanjia	bi	I
2	maodan	qijighe	flower
3	yiri	ri	come
4	wulai	lai	do not

[104] The language features of bridal lamentations also apply to funeral lamentations.

Explanations of Table 4 examples:

1. *Yanjia* referred to "I" or "me" when a female addressed relatives such as grandparents, parents, uncles, aunts, or siblings in a lamentation. *Yanjia* was only used in lamentations and referred to 'granddaughter', 'daughter', 'niece', or 'sister', depending on the context. For example, in *yanjiani aye* '*yanjia's* grandfather', *yanjia* indicates 'granddaughter'. *Yanjia* in *yanjiani ada ma ana* '*yanjia's* father and mother' (line 20, Lamentation 3: Aihou Yila) indicates 'daughter'. In daily conversation, a Mangghuer addressed himself/herself as *bi* 'I' and used *muni* for 'my'. For example, *Bi gerdunang kuersa muni aye zhang shangwu diji hangburajiang* 'When I got home, my grandfather had just finished lunch'.

Bi	ger-du-nang		kuer-sa	muni
1:SG	home-DAT-REFLPOSS		arrive-COND	1:SG:GEN
aye	zhang	shangwu	di-ji	hangbura-jiang.
grandfather	just	lunch	eat-IMPERF	stop-OBJ:PERF

2. *Maodan* in Mangghuer is similar in pronunciation to *mudan* 'peony' in Chinese, leading to examples of *maodan* translated as "peony" (Xu 2014:144, 175). However, *maodan* in Mangghuer refers to round, big flowers or ball-shaped objects such as basketballs and footballs, not to peonies. The Sanchuan Mangghuer did not grow peonies historically; for example, my grandmothers told me they had never seen a peony in Sanchuan.

   Qijighe is a general Mangghuer name for flowers. The Mangghuer, especially elders, used *maodan* for large ball-shaped flowers when discussing real and embroidered flowers. For example, *lianhua maodan* 'lotus flower' and *shilier maodan* 'pomegranate flower' were common Mangghuer names for "lotus" and "pomegranate flower," respectively. They do not refer to "lotus peony" and "pomegranate peony" as described in certain publications

about Mangghuer (Xu 2014:141, 189). Neither a "lotus peony" nor a "pomegranate peony" exists. In 2024, younger Mangghuer referred to flowers collectively as *qijighe* and did not use *maodan* to refer to flowers.

3. *Yiri* 'come' was a term only used in lamentations. *Ri* was generally used for "come." For example, *Yeye niana xianhua'er maodan shige hergeji ge yiri ya* 'Grandfather and Grandmother become brightly colored flowers and come visit me' (line 8, Lamentation 1: Aihou Yila). *Mughashi qi muni gerdu ge ri ba* 'Can you come to my home tomorrow?'.

   Mangghuer terms that can have a prefix "*yi*" without a meaning change include *la* 'cry' - *yila* 'cry', *di* 'eat' - *yidi* 'eat', *di* 'door' - *yidi* 'door', *gha* 'bowl' - *yigha* 'bowl', *meghe* 'village' - *yimeghe* 'village', and *jieni* 'one's own' - *yijieni* 'one's own'. These terms are commonly used in daily communication, and whether to use the form with the prefix "*yi*" or without it entirely depended on personal language habits.

Yeye	niana	xianhua'er	maodan
grandfather	grandmother	brightly colored flower	flower

shige	herge-ji	ge	yiri	ya.
like	visit-IMPERF	SG:INDEF	come	VOL

(line 8, Lamentation 1: Aihou Yila)

Mughashi	qi	muni	ger-du	ge	ri
tomorrow	you	my	home-DAT	SG:INDEF	come

ba?
SUBJ:QUEST

4. *Wulai* and *lai* both refer to "do not." *Lai* was common in daily use. In 2024, *wulai* was only heard in lamentations. For example, *Kongni khuorangdu saoji baiji hergekunang wulai meidienia* 'I may not know how to sit, stand, and walk properly in the groom's courtyard' (line 40, Lamentation 1:

Aihou Yila). Mangghuer terms commonly used in daily communication that can have a prefix "*wu*" without a meaning change include *gui* '(I/we) not have' - *wugui* '(I/we) not have', *guang* '(other) not have' - *wuguang* '(other) not have', *ji* 'look' - *wuji* 'look', *ruo* 'enter' - *wuruo* 'enter', *ruang* 'place' - *wuruang* 'place', *duer* 'day' - *wuduer* 'day', and *ge* 'language' - *wuge* 'language'. My maternal grandmother believed that *yiri* and *wulai* were old Mangghuer terms because she had only heard them in lamentations.

Kong-ni	khuorang-du	sao-ji	bai-ji
other people-GEN	courtyard-DAT	sit-IMPERF	stand-IMPERF

herge-ku-nang	wulai	meidienia.
turn-IMPERF-REFLPOSS	NEG	know-SUBJ:FUT

(line 40, Lamentation 1: Aihou Yila)

Non-Daily Expressions

Another feature of Mangghuer lamentations is the combination of daily terms to produce two forms of non-daily expressions. One approach is to add attributive adjectives before/after a noun to create a more vivid and realistic narrative and to enhance intimacy between the singer and the target lamentation audience (Table 5). The other is employing rhetorical devices such as metaphors and parallelisms to create more poetic expressions (see lamentation excerpts in examples 1, 2, 3, and 4 below).

Table 5. Non-daily expressions in Mangghuer lamentations.

	Lamentation Expression	Translation	Daily Usage	Translation	Appears In
1	ayi ana	mother-like aunt	ayi	aunt (mother's sisters and father's younger sisters-in-law)	lines 56 and 58, Lamentation 1
					line 106, Lamentation 2
2	qini diandong yanjia	your silly daughter	bi/qini xijun	I/your daughter	line 28, Lamentation 1
3	mao diaoni gaga	Bad Younger Sister's Older Brother	muni gaga	my older brother	line 2, Lamentation 2
4	shidie kuangan hangburasang aye niana	Grandfather and Grandmother who long-rested early without serious illness	shidiete guidasang aye niana	Grandfather and Grandmother who passed away early	line 2, Lamentation 1
5	diesi shengge suoni	night as long as a rope	shuduer suoni	long night	line 34, Lamentation 3
6	nukuer xiudier	friends who follow each other like shadows	nukuer	friend	line 16, Lamentation 4
7	khejia daji nanguoruosang ana	sad mother, who couldn't bear to see (me) leave	ana	mother	line 8, Lamentation 4

Explanations of Table 5 examples:

1. *Ayi ana* 'mother-like aunt' refers to 'aunt' in lamentations. *Ayi* in Mangghuer is the mother's sisters and the father's younger sisters-in-law. While *ayi* 'aunt' and *ana* 'mother' are commonly used in daily communication, *ayi ana* appeared only in lamentations. Compared to simply addressing "aunt," adding the attributive adjective "mother-like" conveys more affection.
2. *Diandong* 'silly' is commonly heard in daily communication in describing someone other than the speaker. It is rare to hear someone refer to himself/herself as *diandong*. Occasionally, when people mention mistakes or foolish decisions made during childhood, they say, "*Mula diandong shijiedu...* 'When I was young and foolish...'."

   Yanjia is a term only used in lamentations, as mentioned earlier. In the example lyric "*qini diandong yanjia*" in line 28 of Lamentation 2: Shangma Shu'er, the subject of the lyric is "Father and Mother," therefore, "*qini diandong yanjia*" may be understood as "your silly daughter" or "I."
3. *Mao* 'bad', *diao* 'younger sibling', and *gaga* 'older brother' are three common Mangghuer terms. *Mao diaoni gaga* 'silly younger sister's older brother' is not used to address older brothers in daily conversation, but is only used in lamentations. Instead, *gaga* 'older brother' is used when addressing one's older brother and *muni gaga* 'my older brother' when referring to one's older brother.
4. When Mangghuer mention a deceased person, *guidasang* 'vanished' or *burasang* 'ended' is generally placed in front of the person's title. For example, *muni guidasang aye* 'my deceased grandfather', *muni burasang niana* 'my deceased grandmother'. *Hangbura* 'rest' or *hangburasang* 'rested' is rarely used to describe a person's death. Sometimes, when people hear that a person who has been tormented by illness for a long time has passed away, they may say, "*Shidietai hangburaku shidietai nanxinnang mershidajiang* 'Die early, get rid of the pain early'." *Hangbura* or *hangburasang* is

mostly heard in lamentations. In line 2 of Lamentation 1: Aihou Yila, *shidie* 'early' refers to the bride's grandparents who passed away years earlier, and *kuangan* 'lightly' indicates that her grandparents passed away without suffering. I only have heard *shidie kuangan hangburasang aye niana* 'Grandfather and Grandmother who long-rested early without serious illnesses' in lamentations.

5. *Diesi* 'rope' is common in Sanchuan because each Mangghuer family has a rope about thirty meters long for binding grain bags or sheaves of wheat or corn on a cart. It is also the longest object Mangghuer use in daily life. Thus, it is understandable that the singer uses a rope to describe the length of a tough night. *Diesi shengge suoni* 'a night as long as a rope' is not used in daily communication.
6. *Nukuer* 'friend' and *xiudier* 'shadow' are frequent Mangghuer terms in daily conversations. These two nouns appear in the "adjective+noun" form *nukuer xiudier* 'shadow-like friend' or 'a friend who follows like a shadow' only in lamentations. A child annoyed at being followed by another child might say, "*Qi damei yizhi dagha saoji muni xiudier biu* 'Why are you following me like a shadow all the time'?" However, *nukuer xiudier* in a lamentation emphasizes intimacy - friends who are always near each other, like each other's shadow.
7. It was common for a mother-in-law to abuse her daughter-in-law and a husband to beat his wife in pre-modern marriages. Divorce was nearly impossible no matter how hard a wife's life was in her husband's family. Leaving her parents' home to live with an unfamiliar family put great pressure on a Mangghuer bride. When she felt very sad, wept, and performed a lamentation to her beloved parents, the expression *khejia daji nanguoruosang ana* 'sad Mother, who couldn't bear to see (me) leave' was used. This expression was never used in daily communication.

The following four examples illustrate poetic expressions, or vivid imagery, using rhetorical devices, such as metaphors and parallelism, in lamentations.

Example 1:

[1] Aihou-
[2] Ajiani diaosi,
[3] Aihou-
[4] Ajiasa khuainuo,
[5] Aihou-
[6] chuyini nara shengge khaleng shiwuni sara shengge geigan yaoku boluo ge.

[1] Alas-
[2] Older Sister's younger siblings,
[3] Alas-
[4] after Older Sister leaves,
[5] Alas-
[6] wish your lives will be warm as sunshine on the first day of the month, and your futures will be bright as moonlight on the fifteenth day of the month.

[1] 哎-
[2] 姐姐的弟弟妹妹们,
[3] 哎-
[4] 姐姐出嫁以后,
[5] 哎-
[6] 祝愿你们的生活像每月初一的阳光一样温暖，像每月十五的月光一样亮堂。

(Lamentation 2: Shangma Shu'er)

Chuyini nara shengge khaleng, shiwuni sara shengge geigan 'Warm as sunshine on the first day of each month and bright as moonlight on the fifteenth day of each month' is a common blessing typically given when receiving a kowtow and is also used as a blessing in bridal lamentations. It is not used in daily conversation.

Though sunshine on the first day of each month is not warmer than on other days, Mangghuer consider these days the freshest and most auspicious. Locals chant *mani* in village

temples and kowtow in local monasteries on the first day of each month.

In Mangghuer, *khaleng* 'warm' describes temperature and something bringing warmth and joy. For example, *anani khaleng dao* 'mother's warm voice', suggests warming their children's hearts or making them happy. Consequently, sunshine on the most auspicious day - *chuyi* 'the first day of the month' - is considered the warmest day of each month.

Shiwuni sara shengge geigan 'Bright as moonlight on the fifteenth day of each month' is easily understood because the moon is full and brightest on the fifteenth day of each month.

When Mangghuer bless someone, the parallel *chuyini nara shiwuni sara* 'sunshine on the first day of each month and moonlight on the fifteenth day of each month' are vivid metaphors for a good life and a bright future.

Example 2:

[1] Aihou-
[2] Aba ma ana ghuerluo,
[3] Aihou-
[4] qini diandong yanjia kongni gerdu xiku,
[5] Aihou-
[6] tuosi shengge shiriji yaonia,
[7] Aihou-
[8] gher shengge jiaoriji yaonia.

[1] Alas-
[2] Father and Mother,
[3] Alas-
[4] when your silly daughter marries into another home,
[5] Alas-
[6] perhaps [I] will live a life of pain, like being fried in oil,
[7] Alas-
[8] perhaps [I] will live a life of pain, like being grilled over a fire.

[1] 哎-
[2] 父亲和母亲,
[3] 哎-
[4] 你们愚笨的女儿嫁到别人家里去了,
[5] 哎-
[6] 可能会过热油里煎熬一般的日子,
[7] 哎-
[8] 可能会过烈火上炙烤一般的日子。

(Lamantation 1)

A traditional wedding was like opening a mystery box for grooms and brides who did not know each other. A bride had no idea of the groom's character, appearance, and sexual orientation, and worried about her future life in her husband's home. Female abuse and domestic violence were frequent in Sanchuan. It was believed fate determined a bride's life after her wedding.

In the above lamentation excerpt, the bride vividly expresses her worries about living in her husband's home using two parallel images - *tuosi shengge shiri* 'like being fried in oil' and *gher shengge jiaori* 'like being grilled over a fire'. Women were the main cooks in Mangghuer homes. Consequently, *tuosi* 'oil' and *gher* 'fire' were encountered daily. Women were easily injured while cooking. Oil and fire thus became familiar and personal metaphors to describe a life of suffering. This expression was only heard in lamentations.

Example 3:

[1] Aihou-
[2] Shidie kuangan hangburasangni
[3] Aihou-
[4] yeye niana,
[5] Aihou-
[6] qini diandong sunzini dahulalang gegu,
[7] Aihou-
[8] yeye niana xianhua'er maodan shige hergeji ge yiri ya.

[1] Alas-
[2] Passed away early without suffering
[3] Alas-
[4] Grandfather and Grandmother,
[5] Alas-
[6] when you hear your silly granddaughter will marry,
[7] Alas-
[8] Grandfather and Grandmother become brightly colored flowers and come visit me.

[1] 哎-
[2] 没有遭受病痛的折磨早早去世了的,
[3] 哎-
[4] 爷爷和奶奶,
[5] 哎-
[6] 你们愚笨的孙女出嫁的那天,
[7] 哎-
[8] 请爷爷和奶奶变成鲜花过来看看我。

(Lamentation 1: Aihou Yila)

When a bride missed her deceased grandparents and hoped their *sunisi* 'souls' would visit her on her wedding day, it frightened others if she sang, "*Aye nianani sunisi dameidu ge wujila ri* 'Grandfather and Grandmother's souls, please come visit me'." The souls of deceased people are considered evil and may harm others by causing illness or misfortune within a family. Instead, if she sang, "*Aye niana xianhua'er maodan shige hergeji ge yiri ya* 'Grandfather and Grandmother become brightly colored flowers and come visit me'," her audience felt more comfortable. Before greenhouses were introduced to the Sanchuan area, brightly colored flowers appeared only on painted wooden furniture, in embroidery, artificial floral decorations, and in brides' lamentations during traditional Mangghuer weddings, which were usually held in the cold winter months.

Similarly, she might have sung, "*Aye ma niana xuanhuer shengge xuankeji ri* 'Grandfather and Grandmother

become a whirlwind and come visit me'," (lines 12 and 14 of Lamentation 3: Aihou Yila).

In Sanchuan, this poetic expression was only heard in lamentations at weddings and funerals.

Other non-daily expressions in Example 3 - *shidie kuangan hangburasang* 'passed away early without suffering', *diandong* 'silly', and *yiri* 'come' - were explained above.

In addition to the above three examples, *terghuo zhuolian* 'soft/gentle as silk' is a common poetic expression in lamentations. *Terghuo zhuolian* expresses an elder's gentleness and kindness. Soft, smooth silk produced in faraway south China was a scarce and precious fabric in Sanchuan, making it a fitting metaphor for describing the gentleness and kindness of elders. However, this example is absent in the four lamentations employed in this book.

Example 4:

[1] Aihou-
[2] Muni terghuo zhuolianni aye niana,
[3] Aihou-
[4] qini diandong sunzi kuerji risa,
[5] Aihou-
[6] ghuerluola khaleng daolanang jieliela bila.

[1] Alas-
[2] my gentle-as-silk grandfather and grandmother,
[3] Alas-
[4] everytime your silly granddaughter arrives,
[5] Alas-
[6] you two welcome me with your warm voices.

[1] 哎-
[2] 我的丝绸一般温柔的爷爷奶奶,
[3] 哎-
[4] 每当你们愚笨的孙女到来时,
[5] 哎-
[6] 你俩用温暖的声音迎接我。

Euphemistic Expressions

Euphemistic expressions are commonly used in Mangghuer daily communication when referring to one's spouse or discussing topics related to pregnancy and childbirth because they are indirectly associated with sex, a taboo topic in Mangghuer communities. In 2024, if a TV program showed hugging, kissing, or other romantic behavior lasting more than five seconds, and the audience included elders, children, or mixed genders, a family member holding the TV remote would typically switch to a "healthy" channel.[105]

A bride used a euphemistic expression when singing about the groom's home in her lamentations, for example, *kongni ger* 'another's home' indicating the groom's home in lines 12, 38, 42, 48, and 64 of Lamentation 1: Aihou Yila, and *kongni khuorang* 'another's courtyard' indicating the groom's courtyard in line 40 of Lamentation 1: Aihou Yila. It was considered embarrassing for a bride to say *kuergan* 'groom/husband' directly.

Table 6 gives common euphemistic expressions related to husband, wife, pregnancy, and childbirth.

Table 6. Euphemistic expressions.

Example	Euphemistic Expression	Translation	Implication
1	zhangguidi	cabinet keeper	husband
2	gerni kong	the person at home	
3	x-ni adi/ada/aba (x=a child's name)	x's father	
4	ganni adi/ada/aba	his/her father	

[105] Switching channels occurred under similar circumstances if a program featured *hua er* 'love songs'. Mentioning or performing *hua er* at home was taboo. When family members of different generations and genders were together, even the name of Ma Jun, a famous *hua er* singer from Northwest China, was not allowed to be mentioned.

5	gerni kong	the person at home	wife
6	x-ni ana (x=a child's name)	x's mother	
7	ganni ana	his/her mother	
8	gediesi shuguotu	one's belly gets big	get pregnant
9	biandu ber	have (a baby) in one's body	
10	sara sao	sit for a month	childbirth
11	mulani lu	get an infant	
12	mulani ri	an infant comes	
13	ger jielie	receive a home/room/ afterbirth/family	

Explanations of Table 6 examples:

1. *Zhangguidi* is a loanword from the Chinese term *zhangguide* 'shopkeeper', a person who controls or keeps the counter or cabinet. *Gui* can be understood as *guitai* 'counter' or *guizi* 'cabinet (for keeping cash/money)'. However, in Mangghuer, *zhangguidi* does not refer to a shopkeeper but the head of a family. A Mangghuer family kept valuables in a cabinet, and the cabinet key-keeper was the family head. The man of the highest generation in a family was traditionally the family head among the patriarchal Mangghuer.

   When a Mangghuer woman refers to her husband, she uses a euphemistic expression, saying *muni zhangguidi* 'my cabinet keeper' instead of *muni kuergan* 'my husband', e.g., *muni zhangguidi qier zhenglala yaojiang* 'my husband went to make money'. Similarly, suppose a person asks a woman about her husband. In that case, they say *qini zhangguidi* 'your cabinet keeper' rather than *qini kuergan* 'your husband', for example, *qini zhangguidi gerdu bainu?* 'is your husband at home'? A woman might feel embarrassed if someone says *qini kuergan* 'your husband' to her in public.

2. *Gerni kong* 'the person at home' is another euphemistic expression a woman uses when she mentions her husband. For example, *Muni gerni kong Huozhou Bazerdu alima duerla yaojiang* 'My husband went to Huozhou City to sell fruit'.[106] If someone asks a woman about her husband, *qini gerni kong* 'the person at your home' is used instead of *qini kuergan* 'your husband'.
3. A Mangghuer woman might use *x-ni adi/ada/aba* 'x's father' to mention her husband to others. X can be the name of any of her children. For example, a Mangghuer couple has a daughter named Moran. The wife might say *Moran-ni adi* 'Moran's father' when publicly talking about her husband.
4. The euphemistic expression *ganni adi/ada/aba* 'his/her father' is similar to 'x's father' explained above. A personal pronoun *gan* 'he/she' is used to refer to their children's names.
5. Just as Mangghuer women use euphemistic expressions when referring to their husbands, Mangghuer men also use euphemisms to refer to their wives. *Gerni kong* is one such expression used by men. When a man mentions his wife, he says *muni gerni kong* 'the person at my home' instead of *muni bieri* 'my wife'. Likewise, if someone refers to a man's wife in public, they say *qini gerni kong* 'the person at your home', rather than *qini bieri* 'your wife', which might make him feel embarrassed. For example, *Qini gerni kongni niangjia angji bang?* 'Where is your wife's natal home'?
6. This expression is similar to *x-ni adi/ada/aba* 'x's father'.
7. *Ganni ana* 'his/her mother' is similar to *ganni adi/ada/aba* 'his/her father'.
8. When Mangghuer talk about a woman getting pregnant, they commonly use euphemistic expressions such as *gediesi shuguotu* 'one's belly gets big' or *biandu ber* 'have (a baby) in one's body'. *Gediesi* refers to belly. For example, *Guilanni gediesini shuguotujiang* 'Guilan's belly got big' indicates that Guilan is pregnant.

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[106] Huozhou Bazer 'Huozhou/Hezhou City' is the present-day Linxia City in Gansu Province.

9. *Bian* or *bie* refers to the body. If a woman *biandu ber*, it means she has a baby (or babies) in her body, indicating that she is pregnant, e.g., *Guilanni bianduni berser bang* 'Guilan got pregnant'.
10. *Tuer* is a verb that refers specifically to human childbirth.[107] Mangghuer euphemistic expressions are commonly used to describe childbirth, such as *sara sao*, *mulani lu*, *mulani ri*, or *ger jielie* (explained below).

    After giving birth, a woman commonly stays with her newborn on the *hegang* in her room for at least a month. This is *sara sao* 'moon-sitting' or 'sit/stay (on the *hegang*) for a month'. *Sara* refers to moon and month. When a woman gives birth, others say *gan sara saojiang* 'she started sitting for a month', indicating that 'She has given birth'.

    In that month, the woman is *saraqi* 'the person who sits for a month', the infant is *sarangni mulani* 'the little one in the first month', *sarangni bulai* 'the boy in his first month', or *sarangni aguer* 'the girl in her first month', and the room where the mother and infant stay is *sara ger* 'moon room' 'the room of *saraqi*'. The door and windows of *sara ger* are kept closed. The mother generally only leaves the room to go to the toilet, and the infant remains in the room throughout the month. Mangghuer believe that *mao kai* 'evil wind' or *mao yama* 'evil spirits' can easily enter the room and harm the newborn infant and the mother weakened by childbirth if the door and windows are open. Due to poor medical conditions in former times, many infants died prematurely within the first month, so a celebration banquet was held

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[107] The verb *tuer* cannot be used to describe animal birth. In Mangghuer, different verbs are used to describe the act of giving birth in various animals. These verbs are typically formed by adding the suffix "*-la*" to the term for that animal's young. For example, a lamb is *khuerghuer*, and a ewe giving birth is *khuerghuerla*; a young goat is *nuguer*, and a goat giving birth is *nuguerla*; a calf is *burer*, and a cow giving birth is *burerla*; the young of horses, mules, donkeys, etc., is *dagher*, and the birthing of these animals is *dagherla*; the young of pigs, cats, dogs, rabbits, mice, etc., is *zhizhighuer*, and their birthing is referred to as *zhizhighuerla*.

when the newborn reached one month old. Clansmen and relatives came to welcome the infant into the world and congratulate the infant on overcoming the first difficult moment in life. This celebration is known as *sara ji* 'moon-seeing' or 'seeing/visiting (the infant) in the month/moon'.

11. *Mulani* 'little one' refers to an infant, baby, child, or young person, while *lu* 'find' means "get" or "obtain." Therefore, *mulani lu* indicates giving birth to a baby. For example, *Guilan mulani ge lujiang* 'Guilan got a little one' means 'Guilan gave birth to a baby'.
12. *Ri* refers to come, so *mulani ri* 'little one comes' also indicates giving birth to a baby. For example, *Guilandu mulani ge rijiang* 'An infant came to Guilan's' means 'Guilan gave birth to a baby'.
13. *Ger jielie* 'receive a home/room/afterbirth/family' is a euphemistic expression mostly used by elders to describe childbirth. *Ger* is a noun referring to "home," "room," "afterbirth," or "family," while *jielie* is a verb meaning "receive." Mangghuer believe the afterbirth covering a fetus before birth is its room. Therefore, receiving a newborn's afterbirth/room indicates delivering an infant or receiving a new family member.

Terms of Respect

The clan hierarchical system is strictly observed in Mangghuer communities. Locals are expected to use appropriate terms of address for people of different *benbei* 'generation rank' and ages to show respect. Using an incorrect or inappropriate title may offend others, so when encountering an unfamiliar fellow villager or distant relative, the initial reaction is to determine how to address them properly.

Grigorij Potanin described *benbei* at a Mangghuer wedding in Sanchuan in December 1884:

The Shirongols follow an order of seniority based on kinship relations when seating guests at their places at feasts.

There are cases when an uncle is younger than his nephew – the uncle may be a child, while the nephew is an old man. Nevertheless, the uncle is seated higher than the old man at a feast, for even if he is younger of age, his 'bone' is bigger, or, as the Shirongols say, bombei shuguo[108] (Potanin 2015:177).

When locals address a relative or someone of a higher *benbei* than themselves from their family, clan, or village, they use the terms in Table 7 according to blood relationship and *benbei*.

Table 7. Mangghuer kinship terms.

Mangghuer	Explanation
taiye	paternal great grandfather or paternal great grandfather's brothers and male cousins
atai/taitai	wife of taiye
weitaiye	maternal great grandfather or maternal great grandfather's brothers and male cousins
weitaitai	wife of weitaiye
aye/didi/yeye	paternal grandfather or paternal grandfather's brothers and male cousins
niana/nini/nainai	wife of aye/didi/yeye
weiye/weididi	maternal grandfather or maternal grandfather's brothers and male cousins
weinini/weinainai	wife of weiye/weididi
adi/ada/aba	father
ana	mother

[108] Higher generation. Both *bombei* and *benbei* refer to generation rank. I use *benbei* in this book.

shuguadi/shuguada/shuguaba[109]	father's older brothers and older paternal male cousins
shuguana[110]	wife of shuguadi/shuguada/shuguaba
awu/gaba/muladi[111]/mula aba	father's younger brothers and younger male cousins
ayi/gana/mulana[112]/mula ana	wife of awu/gaba/muladi/mula aba
agu	father's sisters and female cousins
ahu	husband of agu
agu nini	paternal grandfather's sisters and female cousins
ahu didi	husband of agu nini
ajiu	mother's brothers and male cousins
qinzi	wife of ajiu
ajiu didi	father or mother's ajiu
qinzi nini	wife of ajiu didi
ayi	mother's sisters and female cousins
ayihu	husband of ayi
gaga	older brothers and older male cousins
shinajia[113]	wife of gaga
ajia	older sisters and older female cousins
jiefu	husband of ajia

[109] Short form of *shuguo adi/ada/aba* 'big father'.
[110] Short form of *shuguo ana* 'big mother'.
[111] Short form of *mula adi* 'little father'.
[112] Short form of *mula ana* 'little mother'.
[113] Short form of *shini ajia* 'new older sister'.

The terms of address in Table 7 show respect for those of higher *benbei* from the same family, clan, or village, as well as relatives from other villages. These terms, which strictly follow the *benbei* hierarchical system, are not related to age. As a result, a child might address an elderly man as "*gaga*" 'older brother/male cousin', and someone might address a person younger than themselves as "*awu*" 'uncle' or "*ayi*" 'aunt'. For example, I had many elementary schoolmates from Wenjia Village. I called those of a higher *benbei* "*awu*" 'uncle' or "*agu*" 'aunt', even if they were younger than me. A friend, Wen Xiangxiao (b. 1981), and I were born in the same village on the same day, but his *benbei* is equal to my father's, so he calls my father "*gaga*" 'older brother/male cousin' and I call him "*awu*" 'uncle'. A female cousin of mine was addressed as "*niana*" 'great-aunt' by some young people and children from her husband's clan on her wedding day because the groom's *benbei* was high in his clan.

If the person being addressed is under the age of thirty but of a higher *benbei* than the speaker, the speaker addresses them as "name + appropriate title." For example, *Cailan Nini* 'Great-aunt Cailan', *Jinhai Awu* 'Uncle Jinhai', and *Zhongsheng Gaga* 'Older Brother Zhongsheng'.

When addressing middle-aged or elderly individuals of higher *benbei* face-to-face, it is considered impolite to mention their names - even in the form of "name + title." Therefore, only appropriate titles without mentioning their names are used, e.g., *nini/nainai* 'grandmother/great-aunt', *awu* 'uncle', *or gaga* 'older brother/male cousin'. However, when referring to a middle-aged or elderly person of higher *benbei* in conversation with others, the form "name + appropriate title" is used to avoid confusion with other elders addressed by the same title.

"*Muni*" 'my' is usually prefixed to a title when referring to a family member or relative who is of higher *benbei* or older than the speaker. For example, *Muni niana yama chinalang* 'My grandmother is cooking', or *Muni gaga xuedu yaojiang* 'My older brother has gone to school'. In contrast, "*muni*" is not prefixed to a title when addressing someone in person. For

example, *Gaga angji xini* 'Older Brother, where are you going'? However, women usually add "*muni*" before a title when performing lamentations to express sincerity to the lamentation recipients. *Muni diao gagasi* 'my younger brothers and older brothers' in line 68 of Lamentation 2: Shangma Shu'er, and *muni ada muni ana* 'my father and my mother' in line 16 of Lamentation 3: Aihou Yila exemplify such expressions.

When addressing a stranger who appears older than you, appropriate terms such as *aye/didi/yeye*, *nini/nainai*, *awu*, *ayi*, *gaga*, *shinajia*, and *ajia* from the preceding list are used according to the estimated age difference between the stranger and you. Apart from these, other terms in the preceding list are not used to address strangers. For example, the terms *aye*, *didi*, and *yeye* can be used to address one's paternal grandfather, paternal great-uncles, or an aged male stranger. However, when addressing an unfamiliar female elder, the proper terms are *nini* or *nainai*. *Niana* is only used to address one's paternal grandmother or paternal great-aunts from the same clan.

Besides being used to address one's father's younger brothers and younger male cousins, "*awu*" can also be used to address male villagers whose *benbei* is as high as one's father or any male stranger who is approximately twenty years older than oneself. However, *gaba/muladi/mula aba* are only used to address one's father's younger brothers and younger male cousins. *Ayi* can be used to address female villagers whose *benbei* is as high as one's father or any female stranger who is approximately twenty years older than oneself. *Gana/mulana/mula ana* are only used to address the wives of a father's younger brothers and younger male cousins.

According to the above, *bingjia huolini awu yeyesi* 'uncles and great-uncles from the village and the clan' in line 100 of Lamentation 2: Shangma Shu'er denotes they are villagers of higher *benbei* but not the bride's genuine uncles and great-uncles. *Bingjia huolini ayi anasi* 'mother-like aunts from the village and the clan' in line 106 of Lamentation 2: Shangma Shu'er are middle-aged female villagers, not the bride's real aunts.

Besides the terms of respect to address people of higher *benbei* and older age, rules apply in addressing those of lower *benbei* and those who are younger than the speaker. If the person of a lower *benbei* or the same *benbei* is under the age of around thirty and younger than the speaker, their name is used. Terms for addressing those of a lower *benbei* or younger individuals of the same *benbei* - such as *chongsun* 'great-grandsons, great-granddaughters, great-grandnephews, and great-grandnieces', *sunzi* 'grandsons and grandnephews', *sunzi xijun* 'granddaughters and grandnieces', *kao* 'sons', *xijun/aguer* 'daughters', *cher* 'nephews (brothers' sons)', *cher xijun* 'nieces (brothers' daughters)', *waisheng* 'nephews (sisters' sons)', *waisheng aguer* 'nieces (sisters' daughters)', *diao* 'younger brothers and younger male cousins', and *xijun diao* 'younger sisters and younger female cousins' - are generally used to indicate family relationships and are not used as terms of address.

It is impolite to address someone over the age of thirty by name, even if the speaker is older or of a higher *benbei*. A more respectful or euphemistic way to address someone over thirty but younger than the speaker is to use the term that the speaker's children or grandchildren use to address him/her. For example, my older brother is five years my senior. When he addresses me, the polite form is to use *awuni* 'one's uncle' instead of my name. *Awuni* 'one's uncle' implies "my children's uncle." When I visited my *waisheng's* (my sister's son's) home, his paternal grandmother addressed me as *ajiuni* 'one's maternal uncle', implying "my grandson's maternal uncle." This rule also applies to female relatives. For example, *aguni*, *ayini*, *qinzini*... with *agu* 'father's sisters', *ayi* 'mother's sisters', and *qinzi* 'wives of maternal uncles'.

For these reasons, it is unusual to hear an elderly person's name unless he/she has a poor reputation in the village. I did not know my paternal grandmother's name until I was fifteen and my maternal grandmother's name until I was nineteen. My father was annoyed when I once mentioned my paternal grandmother's name. When I started writing this book,

I did not know the names of my paternal and maternal grandfathers, as both had passed away before I was born. Over time, their names were no longer spoken. Later, when I decided to include a story about my maternal grandfather in the book, I reached out to several relatives and eventually learned his name and the years of his birth and death. One of my mother's sisters was surprised when I asked about the name and the birth and death years of her father who had passed away fifty years ago, because in Mangghuer communities, asking for the name of an elder who passed away many years ago is highly inappropriate and impolite.

Another way a lamentation performer respects others is to use pejorative terms for herself, such as *diandong* 'silly', *mao* 'bad', *laoshi* 'dull', and so on (see the following four examples). The linguistic phenomenon of women using self-deprecating adjectives in everyday communication is discussed with examples in Part One: The Mangghuer.

Example 1:

Qini diandong sunzi...
Your silly granddaughter...
(line 6, Lamentation 1: Aihou Yila)

Example 2:

Qini diandong yanjia...
Your silly daughter...
(line 28, Lamentation 1: Aihou Yila)

Example 3:

Mao diaoni gaga...
Bad Younger Sister's Older Brother...
(line 28, Lamentation 2: Shangma Shu'er)

Example 4:

Ni yige laoshi a diandong yanjia...
This dull and silly daughter...
(line 22, Lamentation 3: Aihou Yila)

At about eight PM on one night in June 2008, my older brother, Wen Yinxian, drove me in his Nissan to Yangjia Village in Zhongchuan Township. My mother's youngest sister, Wang Fulian (b. 1962), and her sister-in-law, Wang Shulan (b. 1959), were waiting for us at Aunt Fulian's home. I had asked her two days earlier over the phone to find singers from her village so I could record Mangghuer songs.

"A woman I invited has guests at her home, but she'll be here soon," Aunt Fulian explained when I asked how many singers there would be.

Aunt's husband, Yang Haishen (b. 1963), had contracted a construction project in Chuankou Town, about sixty kilometers from Yangjia Village, and was not at home that night. Her four children were separately employed in Xining and Deilingka (Delingha) by a hospital, government office, construction company, and a restaurant.

About ten minutes later, Aunt's yellow dog barked, and a woman (Bai Liuhua, b. 1952) wearing a gray shirt and a dark green kerchief on her head entered the room. Aunt greeted her as Liuhua Ayi 'Aunt Liuhua'.

The three women sang four women's wedding songs together, after which Aunt Liuhua suggested that she could sing Mangghuer bridal lamentations. I was glad. I was eager to record bridal and funeral lamentations, especially bridal lamentations. At that time, it was extremely rare for Mangghuer brides to perform bridal lamentations at their weddings, and recording one live at a wedding was particularly difficult. However, because these songs are full of sorrow, I felt embarrassed to ask a woman who was not a bride to sing one specifically for my recording.

Although Aunt Liuhua knew I was only making an audio recording, she insisted on wearing a *kuguo terghuo bansher* and covering her face with a red kerchief as a bride would dress (Figure 60a). Aunt Fulian found her *kuguo terghuo bansher* from her *kangkui* and helped Aunt Liuhua put it on. Aunt

Liuhua then sat in a corner of the *hegang* and started performing.

Aunt Liuhua performed two lamentations that night: Aihou Yila, a lamentation for a bride greeting guests, and Shangma Shu'er, a bride's blessing lamentation for her family and relatives. The spectators, including me, were amused by the idea of singing in mock sorrow and considered how to control our laughter. Wang Shulan joked, "*Ganni kong yila kongdu tasi bao shini a. Dan shini bi tasini qiake yilaghani* 'You guys please don't laugh while she is singing. I'll make you cry by pinching you if you laugh'!"

Figures 60a and 60b. Figure 60a: Bai Liuhua performs a bridal lamentation, dressed like a Mangghuer bride. Figure 60b: Bai Liuhua (M) in Mangghuer costume with Wang Fulian (R) and Wang Shulan (L) (June 2008, Yangjia Village, Wen Xiangcheng).

Figure 60a

Figure 60b

However, our attitude changed when Aunt Liuhua began singing. I felt I was listening to a real bridal lamentation at a wedding. A short time later, I noticed my brother was furtively wiping away tears, and Aunt Fulian and Wang Shulan were also weeping. I guessed Aunt Liuhua was recalling her

girlhood and later difficulties she experienced in marriage. She was so sad that when her voice choked up, I suggested she stop singing because I could not bear her suffering.

After about twenty minutes of chatting, Aunt Liuhua said she would perform a blessing lamentation - *shangma shu'er*. I replied it was unnecessary because I did not want her to become very sad. However, Aunt Liuhua explained that the lamentation she had just performed was traditionally sung by a bride during the daytime, and she would perform another lamentation, *shangma shu'er*, which was traditionally sung as the bride departed for the groom's home at night, to complete a full lamentation performance.

1

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

2

shidie	kuangan	hangbura-sang-ni
早早的	轻松的	休息了的
early	lightly	rest-PERF-NOMLZR

Passed away early without suffering

3

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

4

yeye	niana
爷爷	奶奶
grandfather	grandmother

Grandfather and Grandmother.

5

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

6

qi-ni	diandong	sunzi-ni
你的	愚笨的	孙子
2:SG-GEN	silly	granddaughter-ACC

dahula-lang	ge-gu
出嫁	听说
marry-OBJ:IMPERF	hear-IMPERF

When you hear your silly granddaughter will marry,

7

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

8

yeye	niana	xianhua'er	maodan
爷爷	奶奶	鲜花	花朵
grandfather	grandmother	brightly colored flower	flower

shige	herge-ji	ge	yiri	ya
像	转	一下	来	呀
like	visit-IMPERF	SG:INDEF	come	VOL

Grandfather's and Grandmother's souls become brightly colored flowers and come visit me.

9

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

10

qi-ni	diandong	sunzi
你的	愚笨的	孙女
2:SG-GEN	silly	granddaughter

Your silly granddaughter

11

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

12

kong-ni	ger-du	dahula-lang	ge-sa
别人的	家里	出嫁	准备要
other people-GEN	home-DAT	marry-OBJ:IMPERF	do-COND

yang-ni	erdian	suer	a	da-jiang-la
任何	本领	学习	也	没有
any-GEN	skill	learn	also	cannot-OBJ:PERF-IMPERF

didn't learn any skills when preparing to marry into the groom's home.

13

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

14

aba	ma	ana	ghuerluo
父亲	和	母亲	两个
father	and	mother	two

Father and Mother,

15

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

16

diandong	yanjia-nang	dahula-ni	ge-ku
愚笨的	女儿	出嫁	准备要
silly	daughter-REFLPOSS	marry-SUBJ:FUT	do-IMPERF

for preparing your silly daughter's wedding,

17

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

18

aba	ma	ana-du	suoni-ni	jiaodong
父亲	和	母亲	夜晚的	梦
father	and	mother-DAT	nighttime-GEN	dream

ber-ji
成了
become-IMPERF

Father and Mother worried a lot, thought about it even in your nighttime dreams,

19

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

20

wuderer-ni	saner	ber-ji
白天的	心理负担	成了
daytime-GEN	stress	become-IMPERF

stressed during the daytime.

21

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

22

wuderer-ni	khuer-ni	zhoujia	hangbura	da	tula
白天的	脚的	后跟	停止	不能	以至于
daytime-GEN	foot-GEN	heel	stop	cannot	even

Your feet never stopped moving during the daytime,

23

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

24

suoni-ni	ner-nang	ya	ahe	da	tula
夜晚的	睡眠	呀	拿、取	不能	以至于
night-GEN	sleep-REFLPOSS	VOL	take	cannot	even

and didn't sleep well at night.

25

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

26

aba	ma	ana	ghuerluo-du
父亲	和	母亲	两个
father	and	mother	two-DAT

Father and Mother,

27

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

28

qi-ni	diandong	yanjia	shuguo	zhuobulang-ni
你的	愚笨的	女儿	大的	负担
2:SG-GEN	silly	daughter	big	pressure-ACC

ber-ji
成了
become-IMPERF

your silly daughter brought great pressure to you.

29

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

30

qi-ni	yanjia	kao	nige	bi-sa
你的	女儿	儿子	一个	是的话
2:SG-GEN	daughter	son	one	be-COND

If your daughter was a son,

31

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

32

ana	ma	aba-nang	zhuobulang-ni	wulai
母亲	和	父亲的	负担	不
mother	and	father-REFLPOSS	pressure-ACC	NEG

tila-nu
分担
share-OBJ:COP:QUEST

could share Mother and Father's pressure,

33

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

34

aba	ma	ana-nang	khergha-du	wulai
父亲	和	母亲的	身边	不
father	and	mother-REFLPOSS	side-DAT	NEG

sao-nu
坐
stay-OBJ:COP:QUEST

could live with Father and Mother.

35

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

36

qi-ni	yanjia	yang-ni	erdian	suer	a
你的	女儿	任何	本领	学	啊
2:SG-GEN	daughter	any-GEN	skill	learn	also

da-jiang-la
没有了
do not-OBJ:PERF-IMPERF

Your daughter didn't learn any skills.

37

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

38

kong-ni	ger-du	xi-gu
别人的	家里	去了
other people-GEN	home-DAT	go-IMPERF

When I marry into the groom's home,

39

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

40

kong-ni	khuorang-du	sao-ji
别人的	院子里	坐
other people-GEN	courtyard-DAT	sit-IMPERF

bai-ji	herge-ku-nang	wulai
站	转	不
stand-IMPERF	turn-IMPERF-REFLPOSS	NEG

meidie-nia
知道
know-SUBJ:FUT

I may not know how to sit, stand, and walk properly in the groom's courtyard.

41

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

42

kong-ni	ger-du	xi-gu
别人的	家里	去了
other people-GEN	home-DAT	go-IMPERF

When I marry into another home,

43

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

44

shuguo	mula-nang	wulai	meidie-nia
年长者	年幼者	不	知道
elder	children-REFLPOSS	NEG	know-SUBJ:FUT

I may not know how to get along with elders and children.

45

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

46

ana	ma	aba-ni	diandong	yanjia
母亲	和	父亲的	愚笨的	女儿
mother	and	gather-GEN	silly	daughter

Mother and Father's silly daughter,

47

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

48

kong-ni	ger-du	xi-gu
别人的	家里	去了
other people-GEN	home-DAT	go-IMPERF

when marrying into another home,

49

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

50

tuosi	shengge	shiri-ji	yao-nia
油	一样	煎	过
oil	like	fry-IMPERF	go-SUBJ:FUT

perhaps will live a life of pain, like being fried,

51

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

52

gher	shengge	jiaori-ji	yao-nia
火	一样	烤	过
fire	like	grill-IMPERF	go-SUBJ:FUT

perhaps will live a life of pain, like being grilled over a fire.

53

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

54

khergha	yidian-ni	nige	dalu	wosi-sang-ni
旁边	大门的	一个	肩膀	成长的
near	door-GEN	one	shoulder	grow up-PERF-NOMLZR

Neighbors who watched me grow up,

55

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

56

ayi	ana-si
阿姨	母亲们
aunt	mother-PL

mother-like aunts,

57

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

58

mieshi-her	liang tian-sa	wuruo-ji	yiri-sa
早点	两天	进	来的话
early-COMP	two day-ABL	into-IMPERF	come-COND

if you had come to visit me several days earlier,

59

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

60

diandong	mao	cher-du-nang	erdian	diger	wulai
愚笨的	坏	侄女	本领	一些	不
silly	bad	niece-DAT-REFLPOSS	skill	some	NEG

suer-gha-nu
教
learn-CAUSE-OBJ:COP:QUEST

you could have taught your silly bad niece some skills.

61

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

62

qi-ni	mao	cher	yang	erdian-ni	suer	a
你的	坏	侄女	任何	本领	学习	啊
2:SG-GEN	bad	niece	any	skill-ACC	learn	also

da-jiang-la
没有
cannot-OBJ:PERF-IMPERF

Your silly bad niece didn't learn any skills.

63

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

64

ni	yi-ge	mao	cher	kong-ni	ger-du
这	一个	坏	侄女	别人的	家里
this	one-CL	bad	niece	other people-GEN	home-DAT

xi-ku
去了
go-IMPERF

When this bad niece marries into another home,

65

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

66

serghai	barang-nang	lai	meidie-ku
左	右	不	知道
left	right-REFLPOSS	NEG	know-IMPERF

may be confused about what is left and right.

67

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

68

ayi	ana-si-ni	nuer-ni	shuerke-ku-sa	sai
阿姨	母亲们的	面子	丢脸	没
aunt	mother-PL-GEN	face-ACC	lose-IMPERF-ABL	NEG

ayi-bu
担心吗
worry-SUBJ:PERF:QUEST

Mother-like aunts, haven't you worried about losing face?

69

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

70

qi-ni	mao	cher	yang	erdian-ni	suer
你的	坏	侄女	任何	本领	学
2:SG-GEN	bad	niece	any	skill-ACC	learn

da-jiang	ge-ji	mula-nia
没有	说	认为
cannot-OBJ:PERF	QUOTE-IMPERF	think-SUBJ:FUT

They will laugh at your bad niece because I learned no skills.

MANGGHUER
(lyrics as performed)

[1] Aihou-
[2] Shidie kuangan hangburasangni,
[3] Aihou-
[4] yeye niana,
[5] Aihou-
[6] qini diandong sunzini dahulalang gegu,
[7] Aihou-
[8] yeye niana xianhua'er maodan shige hergeji ge yiri ya.
[9] Aihou-
[10] Qini diandong sunzi,
[11] Aihou-
[12] kongni gerdu dahulalang gesa yangni erdian suer a dajiangla.
[13] Aihou-
[14] Aba ma ana ghuerluo,

Aihou-
diandong yanjianang dahulani geku,
Aihou-
Aba ma anadu suonini jiaodong berji,
Aihou-
wudererni saner berji.
Aihou-
Wudererni khuerni zhoujia hangbura da tula,
Aihou-
suonini nernang ya ahe da tula.
Aihou-
Aba ma ana ghuerluodu,
Aihou-
qini diandong yanjia shuguo zhuobulangni berji.
Aihou-
Qini yanjia kao nige bisa,
Aihou-
ana ma abanang zhuobulangni wulai tilanu,
Aihou-
aba ma ananang kherghadu wulai saonu.
Aihou-
Qini yanjia yangni erdian suer a dajiangla.
Aihou-
Kongni gerdu xiku,
Aihou-
kongni khuorangdu saoji baiji hergekunang wulai meidienia.
Aihou-
Kongni gerdu xiku,
Aihou-
shuguo mulangnang wulai meidienia.
Aihou-
Ana ma abani diandong yanjia,
Aihou-
kongni gerdu xiku,
Aihou-
tuosi shengge shiriji yaonia,
Aihou-

[52] gher shengge jiaoriji yaonia.
[53] Aihou-
[54] Khergha yidianni nige dalu wosisangni,
[55] Aihou-
[56] ayi anasi,
[57] Aihou-
[58] Mieshiher liangtiansa wuruoji yirisa,
[59] Aihou-
[60] diandong mao cherdunang erdian diger wulai suerghanu.
[61] Aihou-
[62] Qini mao cher yang erdianni suer a dajiangla.
[63] Aihou-
[64] Ni yige mao cher kongni gerdu xiku,
[65] Aihou-
[66] serghai barangnang lai meidieku,
[67] Aihou-
[68] ayi anasini nuerni shuerkekusa lai ayibu?
[69] Aihou-
[70] Qini mao cher yang erdianni suer dajiang geji mulania.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

[1] Alas-
[2] Passed away early without suffering
[3] Alas-
[4] Grandfather and Grandmother,
[5] Alas-
[6] when you hear your silly granddaughter will marry,
[7] Alas-
[8] Grandfather's and Grandmother's souls become brightly colored flowers and come visit me.
[9] Alas-
[10] Your silly granddaughter
[11] Alas-
[12] didn't learn any skills when preparing to marry into the groom's home.
[13] Alas-

Father and Mother,
Alas-
for preparing your silly daughter's wedding,
Alas-
Father and Mother worried a lot, thought about it even in your nighttime dreams,
Alas-
stressed during the daytime.
Alas-
Your feet never stopped moving during the daytime,
Alas-
and didn't sleep well at night.
Alas-
Father and Mother,
Alas-
your silly daughter brought great pressure to you.
Alas-
If your daughter was a son,
Alas-
could share Mother and Father's pressure,
Alas-
could live with Father and Mother.
Alas-
Your daughter didn't learn any skills.
Alas-
When I marry into the groom's home,
Alas-
I may not know how to sit, stand, and walk properly in the groom's courtyard.
Alas-
When I marry into another home,
Alas-
I may not know how to get along with elders and children.
Alas-
Mother and Father's silly daughter,
Alas-
when marrying into another home,

[49] Alas-
[50] perhaps will live a life of pain, like being fried,
[51] Alas-
[52] perhaps will live a life of pain, like being grilled over a fire.
[53] Alas-
[54] Neighbors who watched me grow up,
[55] Alas-
[56] mother-like aunts,
[57] Alas-
[58] if you had come to visit me several days earlier,
[59] Alas-
[60] you could have taught your silly bad niece some skills.
[61] Alas-
[62] Your silly bad niece didn't learn any skills.
[63] Alas-
[64] When this bad niece marries into another home,
[65] Alas-
[66] may be confused about what is left and right.
[67] Alas-
[68] Mother-like aunts, haven't you worried about losing face?
[69] Alas-
[70] They will laugh at your bad niece because I learned no skills.

MSC TRANSLATION

[1] 哎-
[2] 没有遭受病痛的折磨早早去世了的,
[3] 哎-
[4] 爷爷和奶奶,
[5] 哎-
[6] 你们愚笨的孙女出嫁的那天,
[7] 哎-
[8] 请爷爷和奶奶变成鲜花过来看看我。
[9] 哎-
[10] 你们愚笨的孙女,
[11] 哎-
[12] 就要嫁到别人家去了，但是没有学到任何本领。

[13] 哎-
[14] 父母双亲,
[15] 哎-
[16] 你们愚笨的女儿出嫁这件事,
[17] 哎-
[18] 进入了父亲和母亲夜晚的梦里,
[19] 哎-
[20] 成了你们白天的忧虑。
[21] 哎-
[22] (为了女儿的婚事) 白天你们的脚步从未停歇过,
[23] 哎-
[24] 晚上连觉都睡不安稳。
[25] 哎-
[26] 父亲和母亲,
[27] 哎-
[28] 你们愚笨的女儿给了你俩如此巨大的压力。
[29] 哎-
[30] 你们的女儿如果是一个儿子的话,
[31] 哎-
[32] 还可以分担一下父亲和母亲的压力,
[33] 哎-
[34] 还可以一直待在你们身边。
[35] 哎-
[36] 你们的女儿没有学到任何本领。
[37] 哎-
[38] 嫁到别人家里去了,
[39] 哎-
[40] 可能连别人家里怎么坐立行走的礼节都不懂。
[41] 哎-
[42] 嫁到别人家里去了,
[43] 哎-
[44] 可能连老幼尊卑都分不清。
[45] 哎-
[46] 父亲和母亲愚笨的女儿,
[47] 哎-
[48] 嫁到别人家里去了,
[49] 哎-

50 可能会过热油里煎熬一般的日子,
51 哎-
52 可能会过烈火上炙烤一般的日子。
53 哎-
54 看着我长大的左邻右舍的,
55 哎-
56 慈母般的阿姨们,
57 哎-
58 你们要是早两天进来看我的话,
59 哎-
60 还可以教你们愚笨的侄女一些本领。
61 哎-
62 你们愚笨的侄女没学到任何本领。
63 哎-
64 你们这个愚笨的侄女嫁到别人家去了,
65 哎-
66 要是连左右都分不清楚,
67 哎-
68 难道没有担心会给慈母般的阿姨们丢脸吗?
69 哎-
70 别人肯定会说你们愚笨的侄女什么本领都没学会啊。

LAMENTATION 2: SHANGMA SHU'ER

Two bridetakers from the groom's clan came to the bride's parents' home to escort the bride to the groom's home at night on the first day of the wedding ceremony. The bride was expected to perform a *shangma shu'er* shortly before leaving her natal home for the groom's home, as described earlier.

This *shangma shu'er* was performed by Bai Liuhua in Yangjia Village in June 2008.

1

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

2

mao	diao-ni	gaga	hu-sang-ni
坏	妹妹的	哥哥	给的
bad	younger sister-GEN	older brother	give-PERF-NOMLZR

ni	yi	bazi
这	一	把
this	one	handful

Older Brother gave Bad Younger Sister a handful of

3

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

4

ertang	shuer-la
金	筷子
gold	chopsticks-INST

gold chopsticks.

5

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

6

ertang	tuerha	bosi-gha-ku	boluo	ge
金	柱子	立起来	愿望	实现
gold	pillar	erect-CAUSE-IMPERF	wish	come true

Wish they will become gold pillars and Older Brother will erect the gold pillars.

7

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

8

ertang	tuerha-di
金	柱子上
gold	pillar-DAT

On the gold pillars,

9

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

10

ertang	hu-ni	dala-ku	boluo	ge
金	梁	搭放	愿望	实现
gold	beam-ACC	place-IMPERF	wish	come true

will place gold beams.

11

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

12

ertang	hu-di
金	梁上
gold	beam-DAT

On the gold beams,

13

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

14

ertang	linzi-ni	dala-ku	boluo	ge
金	檩子	搭放	愿望	实现
gold	purlin-ACC	place-IMPERF	wish	come true

will place gold purlins.

15

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

16

ertang	linzi-di
金	檩子上
gold	purlin-DAT

On the gold purlins,

17

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

18

ertang	chuanzi-ni	dala-ku	boluo	ge
金	椽子	搭放	愿望	实现
gold	rafter-ACC	place-IMPERF	wish	come true

will place gold rafters.

19

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

20

ertang	chuanzi-di
金	椽子上
gold	rafter-DAT

On the gold rafters,

21

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

22

ertang	chuanzi-di	ertang	tazi-ni	pula-ku
金	椽子上	金	*tazi*	铺
gold	rafter-DAT	gold	*tazi*[114]-ACC	place-IMPERF

boluo	ge
愿望	实现
wish	come true

will place gold *tazi* on the gold rafters.

23

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

24

ertang	tazi	diere	jin	tu	yin	tu-ni	shangla-ku
金	*tazi*	上面	金	土	银	土	铺上
gold	*tazi*	above	gold	soil	silver	soil	place-IMPERF

boluo	ge
愿望	实现
wish	come true

Will place gold-colored soil and silver-colored soil on the gold *tazi*,

25

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

26

jin	wa	yin	wa-ni	shangla-ku	boluo	ge
金	瓦	银	瓦	镶嵌	愿望	实现
gold	tile	silver	tile-ACC	set-IMPERF	wish	come true

will set gold tiles and silver tiles on the eaves.

[114] Wooden roof decking.

27

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

28

mao	diao-ni	gaga
坏	妹妹的	哥哥
bad	younger sister-GEN	older brother

Wish Bad Younger Sister's Older Brother

29

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

30

jin	wa	yin	wa	jin	tu	yin	tu	diere	gao
金	瓦	银	瓦	金	土	银	土	上面	高
gold	tile	silver	tile	gold	soil	silver	soil	above	tall

lou	da	sha-ni	xiuke-ku	boluo	ge
楼	大	厦	修建	愿望	实现
building	large	mansion-ACC	build-IMPERF	wish	come true

will build a tall, large mansion with gold tiles, silver tiles, gold soil, and silver soil.

31

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

32

gao	lou	da	sha-di
高	楼	大	厦上
tall	building	large	mansion-ACC

Wish the tall, large mansion

33

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

34

ertang	nara	shala-ku	boluo	ge
金	太阳	变成黄色	愿望	实现
gold	sun	turn yellow-IMPERF	wish	come true

will be covered by golden sunshine.

35

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

36

chuyi-ni	nara	shengge	khaleng	ri-ku
初一的	太阳	像	温暖	来
the first day-GEN	sun	like	warm	come-IMPERF

boluo	ge
愿望	实现
wish	come true

Wish your life will be warm as sunshine on the first day of each month.

37

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

38

mao	diao-ni	gaga	mao
坏	妹妹的	哥哥	坏
bad	younger sister-GEN	older brother	bad

diao-sa	khuainuo
妹妹	以后
younger sister-ABL	after

After your bad younger sister leaves, wish Older Brother

39

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

40

bayaji-ji	saijira-ku	boluo	ge
变富裕	变富裕	愿望	实现
wealthy-IMPERF	wealthy-IMPERF	wish	come true

will be wealthy.

41

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

42

aba	ma	ana	ghuerluo
父亲	和	母亲	两个
father	and	mother	two

Father and Mother,

43

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

44

qi-ni	yanjia-sa	khuainuo
你的	女儿	以后
2:SG-GEN	daughter-ABL	after

after your daughter leaves,

45

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

46

qishi	you	tou	bashi	you	yu	a
七十	有	头	八十	有	余	啊
seventy	have	more	eighty	have	more	also

ge-ku	boluo	ge
活到	愿望	实现
live-IMPERF	wish	come true

wish you to live longer than seventy or eighty,

47

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

48

jue	qing	shou	kuai	yao-ku	boluo	ge
脚	轻	手	快	走	愿望	实现
foot	light	hand	quick	walk-IMPERF	wish	come true

wish you stay healthy and move your feet and hands lightly and quickly.

49

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

50

awu	ayi-si
叔叔	阿姨们
uncle	aunt-PL

Uncles and aunts,

51

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

52

qi-ni	yanjia-sa	khuainuo
你的	侄女	以后
2:SG-GEN	niece-ABL	after

after your niece leaves,

53

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

54

jue	qing	shou	kuai-di	yao-ku	boluo	ge
脚	轻	手	快	走	愿望	实现
foot	light	hand	quick	walk-IMPERF	wish	come true

wish you to stay healthy so you can move your feet and hands lightly and quickly,

55

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

56

jixiang	ruyi	ge-ku	boluo	ge
吉祥	如意	成	愿望	实现
auspicious	wish comes true	do-IMPERF	wish	come true

hope you have an auspicious future and all your wishes come true.

57

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

58

ajia-ni	diao-si
姐姐的	弟弟妹妹们
older sister-GEN	younger sibling-PL

Older Sister's younger siblings,

59

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

60

ajia-sa	khuainuo
从姐姐	以后
older sister-ABL	after

after Older Sister leaves,

61

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

62

shiwu-ni	sara	shengge	chuyi-ni	nara
十五的	月亮	像	初一的	太阳
the fifteenth day-GEN	moon	like	the first day-GEN	sun

shengge	khaleng	geigan	yao-ku	boluo	ge
像	温暖	明亮	过	愿望	实现
like	warm	bright	walk-IMPERF	wish	come true

wish your lives will be warm as sunshine on the first day of the month, and your futures will be bright as moonlight on the fifteenth day of the month,

63

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

64

gaozhong	daxue-ni
高中	大学
senior middle school	university-ACC

kaoke-ku	guojia	xiusai
考上	国家	秀才
pass an examination-IMPERF	country	*xiucai*[115]

dangla-ku	boluo	ge
当	愿望	实现
become-IMPERF	wish	come true

wish you pass all the examinations and enter senior middle schools and universities successfully, and finally become national scholars.

65

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

66

ajia-sa	khuainuo
从姐姐	以后
older sister-ABL	after

After Older Sister leaves,

67

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

68

mu-ni	diao	gaga-si-ni	shuguo
我的	弟弟	哥哥们的	大
1:SG-GEN	younger brother	older brother-PL-GEN	big

[115] *Xiucai* 'scholar who passed the imperial examination at the county level'.

ger-du	geigan	khaleng	ri-ku	boluo	ge
房子里	明亮	温暖	来	愿望	实现
house-DAT	bright	warm	come-IMPERF	wish	come true

wish my younger brothers' and older brothers' big houses will be full of brightness and warmth.

69

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

70

qian	yan	hou	yan-du
前	院	后	院里
front	yard	back	yard-DAT

In your front yard and back yard,

71

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

72

qi-ni	mao	diao-sa	khuainuo
你的	坏	妹妹	以后
2:SG-GEN	bad	younger sister-ABL	after

ajia-sa	khuainuo	bayaji-ji
姐姐	以后	变富裕
older sister-ABL	after	wealthy-IMPERF

saijira-ji	yao-ku	boluo	ge
变富裕	过	愿望	实现
wealthy-IMPERF	walk-IMPERF	wish	come true

wish all of you become wealthy after Bad Younger Sister and Older Sister leaves.

73

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

74

qian	huayan-du
前	花园里
front	garden-DAT

In the front garden,

75

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

76

yi	dui	songshu	zaila-ku	boluo	ge
一	对	松树	栽	愿望	实现
one	pair	pine tree	plant-IMPERF	wish	come true

wish you plant a pair of pine trees.

77

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

78

genzi	zha-zai	wan	zhang	shen	ge-ku	boluo
根子	扎在	万	丈	深	成为	愿望
root	extend-DAT	10,000	*zhang*[116]	deep	do-IMPERF	wish

ge
实现
come true

Wish the pine tree roots will extend 10,000 *zhang* deep,

[116] One *zhang* = 3.3 meters.

79

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

80

zhizi	zha-zai	wan	zhang	gao	ge-ku	boluo
枝子	长在	万	丈	高	成	愿望
branch	grow	10,000	*zhang*	high	do-IMPERF	wish

ge
实现
come true

wish the pine tree branches will grow 10,000 *zhang* high,

81

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

82

yeyer	sa-zai	man	tian	yin
树叶	撒在	满	天	荫
leaf	spread-DAT	full	sky	shady and cool

ge-ku	boluo	ge
成	愿望	实现
do-IMPERF	wish	come true

wish the pine tree needles will spread into the sky and protect the house against wind, rain, and the sun,

83

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

84

dong	xia	chang	qing	wan	wan	nian
冬	夏	长	青	万	万	年
winter	summer	forever	green	10,000	10,000	year

ge-ku	boluo	ge
成	愿望	实现
do-IMPERF	wish	come true

wish the pine trees will stay green in winter and summer and live 10,000 years.

85

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

86

ajia	gher-ji	xi	kong-du	koushe
姐姐	出	去	时候	口舌
older sister	go out-IMPERF	leave	time-DAT	quarrel

shihui-ni	daila-ji	xia	ya
是非	带走	去	呀
argue-ACC	take-IMPERF	away	VOL

Older Sister will take quarrels and arguments away when leaving,

87

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

88

bing	tong	zainan-ni	daila-ji	xia	ya
病	痛	灾难	带走	去	呀
illness	pain	disaster-ACC	take-IMPERF	away	VOL

and will take away illness, pain, and disasters.

89

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

90

ajia	xi-ku	kong	shan	saodi-du
姐姐	去了	空	山	草地里
older sister	go-IMPERF	deserted	mountain	grassland-DAT

sala	ya
抛撒	呀
throw away	VOL

Older sister will go to deserted mountains and grassland and throw them away.

91

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

92

kong	shan	saodi-du	sala-ku
空	山	草地里	抛撒出去
deserted	mountain	grassland-DAT	throw away-IMPERF

After I throw them on deserted mountains and grassland,

93

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

94

gaga-ni	shuguo	ger-du	geigan	chighang
哥哥的	大	房子里	明亮	白色
older brother-GEN	big	house-DAT	bright	clean

yao-ku	boluo	ge
过	愿望	实现
walk-IMPERF	wish	come true

Older Brother's big house will be full of brightness and clean air.

95

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

96

bingjia	huoli-ni
本家	家族的
village	clan-GEN

People from the village and clan,

97

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

98

shuguo	hangtou-du	laosa	mori-ni
宽阔的	巷道里	骡	马
broad	alley-DAT	mule	horse-ACC

pangenla-gha-ku	boluo	ge
像雷鸣一样	愿望	实现
thunder-CAUSE-IMPERF	wish	come true

wish mules and horses run in the broad alleys and sound like thunder.

99

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

100

bingjia	huoli-ni	awu	yeye-si
本家	家族的	叔叔	爷爷们
village	clan-GEN	uncle	great-uncle-PL

Uncles and great-uncles from the village and the clan,

101

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

102

chang	ming	bei	sui	ge-ku	boluo
长	命	百	岁	活到	愿望
long	life	one hundred	year of age	do-IMPERF	wish

ge
实现
come true

wish you all live one hundred years.

103

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

104

bingjia	huoli-ni
本家	家族的
village	clan-GEN

From the village and the clan,

105

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

106

ayi	ana-si
阿姨	母亲们
aunt	mother-PL

mother-like aunts,

107

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

108

chang	ming	bei	sui	ge-ku	jue
长	命	百	岁	活到	脚
long	life	one hundred	year of age	do-IMPERF	foot

qing	shou	kuai	yao-ku	boluo	ge
轻	手	快	走	愿望	实现
light	hand	quick	walk-IMPERF	wish	come true

wish you live one hundred years and move your feet and hands lightly and quickly.

109

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

110

gaga	diao-si
哥哥	弟弟们
older brother	younger brother-PL

Older brothers and younger brothers,

111

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

112

ghada	gher-ku
外面	出去了
outside	go-IMPERF

when you go out,

113

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

114

kong	huai	chu	qi	man	huai	jin	lai
空	怀	出	去	满	怀	进	来
empty	pocket	go	out	full	pocket	come	in

ge-ku	boluo	ge
成为	愿望	实现
do-IMPERF	wish	come true

wish you go out with empty pockets and come back with pockets full of money.

MANGGHUER
(lyrics as performed)

[1] Aihou-
[2] Mao diaoni gaga husangni ni yi bazi,
[3] Aihou-
[4] ertang shuerla,
[5] Aihou-
[6] ertang tuerha bosighaku boluo ge.
[7] Aihou-
[8] Ertang tuerha di,
[9] Aihou-
[10] ertang huni dalaku boluo ge.
[11] Aihou-
[12] Ertang hu di,

Aihou-
ertang linzini dalaku boluo ge.
Aihou-
Ertang linzi di,
Aihou-
ertang chuanzini dalaku boluo ge.
Aihou-
Ertang chuanzi di,
Aihou-
ertang chuanzi di ertang tazini pulaku boluo ge.
Aihou-
Ertang tazi diere jin tu yin tuni shanglaku boluo ge,
Aihou-
jin wa yin wani shanglaku boluo ge.
Aihou-
Mao diaoni gaga,
Aihou-
jin wa yin wa jin tu yin tu diere gao lou da shani xiukegu boluo ge.
Aihou-
Gao lou da sha di,
Aihou-
ertang nara shalaku boluo ge.
Aihou-
Chuyini nara shengge khaleng rigu boluo ge.
Aihou-
Mao diaoni gaga mao diaosa khuainuo,
Aihou-
bayajiji saijiraku boluo ge.
Aihou-
Aba ma ana ghuerluo,
Aihou-
qini yanjiasa khuainuo,
Aihou-
qishi youtou bashi youyu a geku boluo ge.
Aihou-
Jue qing shou kuai yaoku boluo ge.

[49] Aihou-
[50] Awu ayisi,
[51] Aihou-
[52] qini yanjiasa khuainuo,
[53] Aihou-
[54] jue qing shou kuaidi yaoku boluo ge.
[55] Aihou-
[56] Jixiang ruyi geku boluo ge.
[57] Aihou-
[58] Ajiani diaosi,
[59] Aihou-
[60] ajiasa khuainuo,
[61] Aihou-
[62] shiwuni sara shengge chuyini nara shengge khaleng geigan yaoku boluo ge.
[63] Aihou-
[64] Gaozhong daxueni kaokeku guojia xiucai danglaku boluo ge.
[65] Aihou-
[66] Ajiasa khuainuo,
[67] Aihou-
[68] muni diao gagasini shuguo gerdu geigan khaleng riku boluo ge.
[69] Aihou-
[70] Qian yan hou yandu,
[71] Aihou-
[72] qini mao diaosa khuainuo ajiasa khuainuo bayajiji saijiraji yaoku boluo ge.
[73] Aihou-
[74] Qian huayandu,
[75] Aihou-
[76] yi dui songshu zailaku boluo ge.
[77] Aihou-
[78] genzi zhazai wanzhang shen geku boluo ge,
[79] Aihou-
[80] zhizi zhazai wanzhang gao geku boluo ge,
[81] Aihou-
[82] yeyer sazai mantian yin geku boluo ge,

[83] Aihou-
[84] Dong xia chang qing wanwan nian geku boluo ge.
[85] Aihou-
[86] Ajia gherji xikongdu koushe shihuini dailaji xia ya,
[87] Aihou-
[88] bing tong zainanni dailaji xia ya.
[89] Aihou-
[90] Ajia xiku kong shan saodidu sala ya.
[91] Aihou-
[92] Kong shan saodidu salaku,
[93] Aihou-
[94] gagani shuguo gerdu geigan chighang yaoku boluo ge.
[95] Aihou-
[96] Bingjia huolini,
[97] Aihou-
[98] shuguo hangtoudu laosa morini pangenlaghaku boluo ge.
[99] Aihou-
[100] Bingjia huolini awu yeyesi,
[101] Aihou-
[102] changming beisui geku boluo ge.
[103] Aihou-
[104] Bingjia huolini,
[105] Aihou-
[106] ayi anasi,
[107] Aihou-
[108] changming beisui geku jue qing shou kuai yaoku boluo ge.
[109] Aihou-
[110] Gaga diaosi,
[111] Aihou-
[112] ghada gherku,
[113] Aihou-
[114] kong huai chuqi man huai jinlai geku boluo ge.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

[1] Alas-
[2] Older Brother gave Bad Younger Sister a handful of

[3] Alas-
[4] gold chopsticks,
[5] Alas-
[6] Wish they will become gold pillars and Older Brother will erect the gold pillars.
[7] Alas-
[8] On the gold pillars,
[9] Alas-
[10] will place gold beams.
[11] Alas-
[12] On the gold beams,
[13] Alas-
[14] will place gold purlins.
[15] Alas-
[16] On the gold purlins,
[17] Alas-
[18] will place gold rafters.
[19] Alas-
[20] On the gold rafters,
[21] Alas-
[22] will place gold *tazi* on the gold rafters.
[23] Alas-
[24] Will place gold-colored soil and silver-colored soil on the gold *tazi*,
[25] Alas-
[26] will set gold tiles and silver tiles on the eaves.
[27] Alas-
[28] Wish Bad Younger Sister's Older Brother
[29] Alas-
[30] will build a tall, large mansion with gold tiles, silver tiles, gold soil, and silver soil.
[31] Alas-
[32] Wish the tall, large mansion
[33] Alas-
[34] will be covered by golden sunshine.
[35] Alas-
[36] Wish your life will be warm as sunshine on the first day of

each month.
[37] Alas-
[38] After your bad younger sister leaves, wish Older Brother
[39] Alas-
[40] will be wealthy.
[41] Alas-
[42] Father and Mother,
[43] Alas-
[44] after your daughter leaves,
[45] Alas-
[46] wish you to live longer than seventy or eighty,
[47] Alas-
[48] wish you stay healthy and move your feet and hands lightly and quickly.
[49] Alas-
[50] Uncles and aunts,
[51] Alas-
[52] after your niece leaves,
[53] Alas-
[54] wish you to stay healthy so you can move your feet and hands lightly and quickly,
[55] Alas-
[56] hope you have an auspicious future and all your wishes come true.
[57] Alas-
[58] Older Sister's younger siblings,
[59] Alas-
[60] after Older Sister leaves,
[61] Alas-
[62] wish your lives will be warm as sunshine on the first day of the month, and your futures will be bright as moonlight on the fifteenth day of the month,
[63] Alas-
[64] wish you pass all the examinations and enter senior middle schools and universities successfully, and finally become national scholars.
[65] Alas-

After Older Sister leaves,
Alas-
wish my younger brothers' and older brothers' big houses will be full of brightness and warmth.
Alas-
In your front yard and back yard,
Alas-
wish all of you become wealthy after Bad Younger Sister and Older Sister leaves.
Alas-
In the front garden,
Alas-
wish you plant a pair of pine trees.
Alas-
Wish the pine tree roots will extend 10,000 *zhang* deep,
Alas-
wish the pine tree branches will grow 10,000 *zhang* high,
Alas-
wish the pine tree needles will spread into the sky and protect the house against wind, rain, and the sun,
Alas-
wish the pine trees will stay green in winter and summer and live 10,000 years.
Alas-
Older Sister will take quarrels and arguments away when leaving,
Alas-
and will take away illness, pain, and disasters.
Alas-
Older sister will go to deserted mountains and grassland and throw them away.
Alas-
After I throw them on deserted mountains and grassland,
Alas-
Older Brother's big house will be full of brightness and clean air.
Alas-

[96] People from the village and clan,
[97] Alas-
[98] wish mules and horses run in the broad alleys and sound like thunder.
[99] Alas-
[100] Uncles and great-uncles from the village and the clan,
[101] Alas-
[102] wish you all live one hundred years.
[103] Alas-
[104] From the village and the clan,
[105] Alas-
[106] mother-like aunts,
[107] Alas-
[108] wish you live one hundred years and move your feet and hands lightly and quickly.
[109] Alas-
[110] Older brothers and younger brothers,
[111] Alas-
[112] when you go out,
[113] Alas-
[114] wish you go out with empty pockets and come back with pockets full of money.

MSC TRANSLATION

[1] 哎-
[2] 祝愿愚笨的妹妹手里这把哥哥给的,
[3] 哎-
[4] 金筷子,
[5] 哎-
[6] 变成黄金的柱子，(哥哥将它们) 竖立起来。
[7] 哎-
[8] 在黄金的柱子上,
[9] 哎-
[10] 搭上黄金的横梁。
[11] 哎-
[12] 在黄金的横梁上,

哎-
搭上黄金的檩子。
哎-
在黄金的檩子上，
哎-
搭上黄金的椽子。
哎-
在黄金的椽子上，
哎-
铺上黄金的 tazi。
哎-
黄金的 tazi 上面铺上金土银土，
哎-
然后镶上金瓦银瓦。
哎-
愚笨的妹妹的哥哥，
哎-
用金瓦银瓦、金土银土修建一座高楼大厦。
哎-
在高楼大厦上面，
哎-
洒满金色的阳光。
哎-
祝愿哥哥的生活就像每月初一的阳光一样温暖。
哎-
祝愿哥哥在愚笨的妹妹出嫁以后，
哎-
过上荣华富贵的生活。
哎-
父亲和母亲二人，
哎-
你们的女儿出嫁以后，
哎-
祝愿你们到七、八十岁仍然健健康康。
哎-
祝愿你们手脚轻快，行走自如。
哎-

叔叔阿姨们，
哎-
你们的侄女出嫁以后，
哎-
祝愿你们身体健康、四肢灵活。
哎-
祝愿你们吉祥如意。
哎-
姐姐的弟弟妹妹们，
哎-
姐姐出嫁以后，
哎-
祝愿你们的生活像每月初一的阳光一样温暖，每月十五的月光一样亮堂。
哎-
祝愿你们顺利考上高中、大学，成为国家的栋梁之才。
哎-
姐姐出嫁以后，
哎-
祝愿我的哥哥和弟弟妹妹们住在宽敞明亮的大房子里过上温暖舒适的生活。
哎-
前院和后院里，
哎-
你们愚笨的妹妹或者姐姐出嫁以后，充满富贵祥和之气。
哎-
在屋前的花园里，
哎-
希望你们栽下一对松树。
哎-
祝愿这一对松树的根系扎进万丈之深，
哎-
祝愿这一对松树的枝干伸到万丈之高，
哎-
祝愿这一对松树枝繁叶茂、遮天蔽日，
哎-
祝愿这一对松树冬夏常青、万年不枯。

[85] 哎-
[86] 姐姐出去的时候把家里的口舌是非都带走，
[87] 哎-
[88] 把病痛和灾难都带走。
[89] 哎-
[90] 姐姐把它们抛撒到无人居住的荒山草地里。
[91] 哎-
[92] （把这些不吉利的东西）带出去抛撒到荒山草地之后，
[93] 哎-
[94] 哥哥宽敞明亮的大房子里从此充满祥瑞之气。
[95] 哎-
[96] 祝愿村民和族人，
[97] 哎-
[98] 宽阔的巷子里，骡马成群，奔腾如雷。
[99] 哎-
[100] 同村同族的爷爷和叔叔们，
[101] 哎-
[102] 祝愿你们长命百岁。
[103] 哎-
[104] 同村同族的，
[105] 哎-
[106] 慈母般的阿姨们，
[107] 哎-
[108] 祝愿你们长命百岁、手脚轻快。
[109] 哎-
[110] 哥哥和弟弟们，
[111] 哎-
[112] 出门挣钱的时候，
[113] 哎-
[114] 祝愿你们空手出门，满载而归。

Zhang Jinlian (b. 1979) is the wife of my older paternal cousin, Wen Xuezhong[117] (b. 1978), who is one of the performers of Menlou'er in Part Four of this book. Jinlian used her home name, Jinhua, for twenty-one years. On the day she married my cousin in 2000, her mother-in-law, Ma Yingcaihua (b. 1949), replaced "*hua*" in her name with "*lian*" because "*hua*" was also part of her mother-in-law's name. According to Mangghuer tradition, family members and clan members of different generations should avoid sharing syllables with the same pronunciation or characters written the same in their names. If a newly married daughter-in-law's name contains a syllable that sounds the same as one in an elder's name, she is expected to change it. When a family names a newborn, it typically avoids using syllables with the same pronunciation as those of family elders' names.

Locals highly value having a son to perpetuate the family line and Wen Xuezhong is an only son. Zhang Jinlian was thus expected to have at least one son. The family paid a substantial amount in fines because she violated the Two-Child Policy by giving birth to four daughters.

During a discussion about children after she gave birth to her fourth daughter, I suggested:

Sige mulani shi zai berjiang ge a. Zai ya gesa bao kerli! Kong kelikuni yang guanlini. Niebie tiedongkula xiderala guang. Puza jinian berma, kao ma aguer xidera burani. Dasi qigelang bei, aguer biku kong nuoqiku duer qini yi liangge kao biku kongsa yamer gezai guang.

Four children are enough. Please don't have more! Ignore others' comments and gossip. Times are changing. Sons and daughters will be treated equally years later. We can see that families with daughters have much happier lives than those with one or two sons.

[117] Wen Xuezhong is the official name of Zhang Jinlian's husband, but we still call him by his home name, Haizhongyin 'Sea, honesty, silver'.

With tears streaming down her cheeks, she said, "I don't want to give birth again. My belly needs a rest. I need time and energy to raise my four daughters."

I later heard that she had been sterilized. In 2024, her youngest daughter started kindergarten, her second and third daughters are studying in local schools, and the oldest daughter is a student at Qinghai University.

Zhang Jinlian enjoys singing and wearing stylish clothes, but because she does manual work with her husband on construction sites, she rarely has the opportunity to dress that way. However, she puts on her beautiful, stylish skirts whenever she has leisure time. She is lively, outgoing, and often sings on our clan's WeChat group. I collected this lamentation she sent to the WeChat group in January 2017. Her youngest daughter was babbling when she sang it. It is a short typical lamentation.

1

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

2

shidie	kuangan	hangbura-sang-ni
早	轻	休息了的
early	lightly	rest-PERF-NOMLZR

Passed away early without suffering,

3

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

4

sunzi-ni	aye	ma	niana
孙女的	爷爷	和	奶奶
granddaughter-GEN	grandfather	and	grandmother

Granddaughter's Grandfather and Grandmother.

5

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

6

aye	ma	niana-ni	ni	yi-ge	mula
爷爷	和	奶奶的	这	一个	小
grandfather	and	grandmother-GEN	this	one-CL	youngest

sunzi-ni
孙女
granddaughter-ACC

Grandfather and Grandmother's youngest granddaughter

7

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

8

dahula-lang	ge-ku	aye	ma
出嫁	听说	爷爷	和
marry-OBJ:IMPERF	hear-IMPERF	grandfather	and

niana
奶奶
grandmother

will marry. Grandfather and Grandmother,

9

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

10

amitu-la	adaling-her	meidie
活着	一样的	知道
alive-INST	the same-COMP	know

hope you hear and know the news just like when you were alive.

11

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

12

aye	ma	niana	yanjia-ni	ada-ni	shuguo
爷爷	和	奶奶	我的	父亲的	大
grandfather	and	grandmother	I-GEN	father-GEN	big

khuorang-du
庭院里
courtyard-DAT

Grandfather and Grandmother come to my father's big courtyard

13

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

14

xuanhuer	shengge	xuanke-ji	yiri
旋风	像	旋转	来
whirlwind	like	visit-IMPERF	come

visit like a whirlwind,

15

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

16

mu-ni	ada	ma	mu-ni	ana-ni	qian	hou
我的	父亲	和	我的	母亲的	前	后
1:SG-GEN	father	and	1:SG-GEN	mother-GEN	front	back

a	zuo	you-du	herge
啊	左	右	旋转
also	left	right-DAT	whirl

Whirl around my father and mother,

17

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

18

diandong	sunzi-nang	qian	hou	a	zuo
愚笨的	孙女的	前	后	啊	左
silly	granddaughter-REFLPOSS	front	back	also	left

you-du	herge
右	旋转
right-DAT	whirl

and whirl around your silly granddaughter as well.

19

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

20

yanjia-ni	ada	ma	ana
我的	父亲	和	母亲
I-GEN	father	and	mother

My father and mother,

21

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

22

ni	yi-ge	laoshi	a	diandong	yanjia-nang
这	一个	老实	啊	愚笨的	女儿
this	one-CL	dull	also	silly	daughter-REFLPOSS

for this dull, silly daughter,

23

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

24

kong-la	adaling-her	kong	nige
像别人	一样	人	一个
other people-INST	the same-COMP	person	one

berghuo-ni	ge-ku
成为	做
become-SUBJ:FUT	do-IMPERF

will have a wedding as good as others,

25

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

26

ada	ma	ana	suoni	duer-nang	hongke	a
父亲	和	母亲	夜晚	白天	区分	也
father	and	mother	night	day-REFLPOSS	distinguish	also

da	tula
不能	以至于
cannot	even

Father and Mother worked hard day and night for my wedding.

27

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

28

shulian-ni	jiaodong	ber-ji
夜晚的	梦	成了
nighttime-GEN	dream	become-IMPERF

You thought about it even in your nighttime dreams,

29

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

30

wuderer-ni	saner	ber-ji
白天的	心理负担	成了
daytime-GEN	stress	become-IMPERF

and it stressed you during the daytime.

31

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

32

yitian-ni	khuer-ni	zhoujia-nang	hangbura-gha	da
白天的	脚的	后跟	停止	不能
day-GEN	foot-GEN	heel-REFLPOSS	stop-CAUSE	cannot

tula
以至于
even

Your feet never stopped moving during the daytime,

33

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

34

diesi	shengge	suoni-ni	pudeng	ner-nang	abu
绳子	像	夜晚的	完整的	睡眠	拿、取
rope	like	night-GEN	complete	sleep-REFLPOSS	take

da	tula
不能	以至于
cannot	even

and you even didn't sleep well during the night that was long as a rope,

35

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

36

yanjia-ni	ada	ma	Ana
我的	父亲	和	母亲
I-GEN	father	and	mother

my father and mother.

MANGGHUER
(lyrics as performed)

[1] Aihou-
[2] Shidie kuangan hangburasangni,
[3] Aihou-
[4] sunzini aye ma niana.

[5] Aihou-
[6] Aye ma nianani ni yige mula sunzini,
[7] Aihou-
[8] dahulalang geku aye ma niana,
[9] Aihou-
[10] amitula adaling'her meidie.
[11] Aihou-
[12] Aye ma niana yanjiani adani shuguo khuorangdu,
[13] Aihou-
[14] xuanhuer shengge xuankeji yiri.
[15] Aihou-
[16] Muni ada ma muni ananni qianhou a zuoyoudu herge,
[17] Aihou-
[18] diandong sunzinang qianhou a zuoyou du herge.
[19] Aihou-
[20] Yanjiani ada ma ana,
[21] Aihou-
[22] ni yige laoshi a diandong yanjianang,
[23] Aihou-
[24] kongla adaling'her kong nige berghuoni geku,
[25] Aihou-
[26] ada ma ana suoni duernang hongke a da tula.
[27] Aihou-
[28] Shulianni jiaodong berji,
[29] Aihou-
[30] wudererni saner berji.
[31] Aihou-
[32] Yitianni khuerni zhoujianang hangburagha da tula,
[33] Aihou-
[34] diesi shengge suonini pudeng nernang abu da tula,
[35] Aihou-
[36] yanjiani ada ma ana.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

[1] Alas-
[2] Passed away early without suffering,

[3] Alas-
[4] Granddaughter's Grandfather and Grandmother.
[5] Alas-
[6] Grandfather and Grandmother's youngest granddaughter
[7] Alas-
[8] will marry. Grandfather and Grandmother,
[9] Alas-
[10] hope you hear and know the news just like when you were alive.
[11] Alas-
[12] Grandfather and Grandmother come to my father's big courtyard
[13] Alas-
[14] visit like a whirlwind,
[15] Alas-
[16] Whirl around my father and mother,
[17] Alas-
[18] and whirl around your silly granddaughter as well.
[19] Alas-
[20] My father and mother,
[21] Alas-
[22] for this dull, silly daughter,
[23] Alas-
[24] will have a wedding as good as others,
[25] Alas-
[26] Father and Mother worked hard day and night for my wedding.
[27] Alas-
[28] You thought about it even in your nighttime dreams,
[29] Alas-
[30] and it stressed you during the daytime.
[31] Alas-
[32] Your feet never stopped moving during the daytime,
[33] Alas-
[34] and you even didn't sleep well during the night that was long as a rope,

[35] Alas-
[36] my father and mother.

MSC TRANSLATION

[1] 哎-
[2] 没有遭受病痛的折磨早早去世了的,
[3] 哎-
[4] 孙女的爷爷和奶奶。
[5] 哎-
[6] 爷爷和奶奶的这一个小孙女,
[7] 哎-
[8] 就要嫁人的消息,
[9] 哎-
[10] 但愿爷爷和奶奶能够像活着的时候那样感知到。
[11] 哎-
[12] 希望爷爷奶奶的灵魂,
[13] 哎-
[14] 像一股旋风一样飞到我父亲宽阔的庭院里。
[15] 哎-
[16] 围绕在我父亲和母亲的前后左右,
[17] 哎-
[18] 围绕在你们这个愚笨的孙女的前后左右。
[19] 哎-
[20] 我的父亲和母亲,
[21] 哎-
[22] 为了给你们这个老实愚笨的女儿,
[23] 哎-
[24] 举办一场跟别人一样体面的婚礼,
[25] 哎-
[26] 父亲和母亲没日没夜地操劳。
[27] 哎-
[28] 为我筹办婚礼的事进入了父亲和母亲夜晚的梦里,
[29] 哎-
[30] 成了你们白天的忧虑。
[31] 哎-
[32] 白天你俩马不停蹄地忙活，脚步从未停歇过,

[33] 哎-
[34] 漫长的夜晚，你俩没有睡过一个完整的觉，
[35] 哎-
[36] 我的父亲和母亲。

LAMENTATION 4: AIHOU YILA

The singer, Wen Xueguihua (b. 1977), grew up in an impoverished family and never attended school. Her first husband died unexpectedly and she was left with two children. To raise two fatherless children, Wen Xueguihua worked wherever she could to earn money. While picking cotton in Xinjiang, she met her current husband, a divorced Mangghuer from Enduba Ghuer[118] Valley. They married in 2014.

The singer sang this lamentation while picking cotton in Xinjiang. The lyrics are not about a bride. She used a bridal lamentation to express her homesickness and the hardships of working outside her home area. For an illiterate Mangghuer woman, the sorrowful melody of bridal lamentations, familiar to her since childhood, was the most appropriate way to relieve her sadness.

She recorded this song with her cell phone and uploaded it to the Chinese short-video app, *Kuaishou*. With the popularity of smartphones, watching short videos on *Kuaishou* has become a daily entertainment for locals, who also share their lives through *Kuaishou*.

The melody of this lamentation differs from that of the other three lamentations included in this part. Although Mangghuer wedding customs in Sanchuan are similar, there are many differences in details. The village where the singer lives now is located in Enduba Ghuer Valley, Zhongchuan Township. The lamentation melody can be easily distinguished from lamentations sung in the vicinity of my natal home in Wenjia Village.

In this lamentation, Wen Xueguihua employed a bridal lamentation melody to express yearning for her family and

[118] Also known as Minzhu Ghuer or Minzhu Gou.

hardships in earning money in a place far from her home. She composed the lyrics based on her own situation at the time, not traditional lamentation lyrics, so there are many Chinese terms, such as *moshengren* 'stranger', *gongjia* 'the government', *liang zhang* 'two pieces', *renminbi* 'RMB', *dajia* 'all people', *qiancai* 'money', *suan* 'sour', *tian* 'sweet', *ku* 'bitter', *la* 'spicy', and so on. She also used some non-daily vocabulary and expressions I described above, e.g.:

a. Non-daily vocabulary: *nukuer xiudier* 'friends who follow each other like shadows'.
b. Non-daily expression: *khejia daji nanguoruosang ana* 'sad Mother, who couldn't bear to see (me) leave'.

1

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

2

jie-ni	adi	jie-ni	ana-sa-nang
自己的	父亲	自己的	母亲
self-GEN	father	self-GEN	mother-ABL-REFLPOSS

Left my father and mother,

3

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

4

kong-ni	moshengren-ni	wuruang-du
别人的	陌生人的	地方里
other people-GEN	stranger-GEN	place-DAT

ri-jiang	bei
来了	呗
come-OBJ:PERF	EMPH

came to this strange place.

5

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

6

gongjia-ni	liang-zhang	renminbi-ni
公家的	两张	人民币的
government agency-GEN	two-CL	Renminbi-GEN

xian-du
原因
reason-DAT

For the reason of making some money,

7

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

8

khejia	da-ji	nanguoruo-sang
离别	无法	难过了的
leave	cannot-IMPERF	sad-PERF

ana-sa-nang	khejia-ji
母亲	离别了
mother-ABL-REFLPOSS	leave-IMPERF

left my sad mother, who couldn't bear to see me leave,

9

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

10

ajia	diao-sa-nang	khejia-ji
姐姐	跟妹妹	离别了
older sister	younger sister-ABL-REFLPOSS	leave-IMPERF

left my older and younger sisters,

11

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

12

gaga	diao-sa-nang	khejia-ji
哥哥	跟弟弟	离别了
older brother	younger brother-ABL-REFLPOSS	leave-IMPERF

left my older and younger brothers,

13

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

14

kao	xijun-sa-nang	khejia-ji
儿子	跟女儿	离别了
son	daughter-ABL-REFLPOSS	leave-IMPERF

left my sons and daughters,

15

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

16

yimeghe	suoruo-ni	nukuer	xiudier-seng-sa-nang
村子	家族的	朋友	跟影子们
village	clan-GEN	friend	shadow-PL-ABL-REFLPOSS

khejia-ji
离别了
leave-IMPERF

left my friends who followed each other like shadows from the same village and the same clan.

17

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

18

kong-ni	wuruang-du	ri-ku
别人的	地方里	来了
other people-GEN	place-DAT	come-IMPERF

After I came to other people's place,

19

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

20

dajia-nang	sana-ji	yao-lang	a
把大家	想念着	过	啊
everyone-REFLPOSS	miss-IMPERF	go-OBJ:IMPERF	VOL

I miss all of you every day.

21

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

22

liang-zhang	qiancai	enggui-ku
两张	钱财	没有了
two-CL	money	lack-IMPERF

Due to a lack of money,

23

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

24

suan	tian	ku	la-ni	yidi-la
酸	甜	苦	辣	吃
sourness	sweetness	bitterness	spiciness-ACC	eat-PURP

ri-lang	bei
来了	呗
come-OBJ:IMPERF	EMPH

I came here and tasted the bittersweetness of life.

25

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

26

kong-ni	bie	yi-ge	ri-sa
人的	身子	一个	来的话
human being-GEN	body	one-CL	come-COND

Come to the world as a human being,

27

aihou
哎
VOL

Alas-

28

nuoqi-ku	duer	niezhang	bang	a
过的	日子	可怜	是	啊
live-IMPERF	day	pitiful	OBJ:COP	VOL

life is so hard.

MANGGHUER
(lyrics as performed)

[1] Aihou-
[2] Jieni adi jieni anasanang,
[3] Aihou-
[4] kongni moshengrenni wuruangdu rijiang bei.
[5] Aihou-
[6] Gongjiani liangzhang renminbini xiandu,
[7] Aihou-
[8] khejia daji nanguoruosang anasanang khejiaji,
[9] Aihou-
[10] ajia diaosanang khejiaji,
[11] Aihou-
[12] gaga diaosanang khejiaji,
[13] Aihou-
[14] kao xijunsanang khejiaji,
[15] Aihou-
[16] yimeghe suoruoni nukuer xiudiersengsanang khejiaji.
[17] Aihou-
[18] Kongni wuruangdu riku,
[19] Aihou-
[20] dajianang sanaji yaolang a.
[21] Aihou-
[22] Liangzhang qiancai engguiku,
[23] Aihou-
[24] suan tian ku lani yidila rilang bei.
[25] Aihou-
[26] Kongni bie yige risa,
[27] Aihou-
[28] nuoqiku duer niezhang bang a.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

[1] Alas-
[2] Left my father and mother,
[3] Alas-

[4] came to this strange place.
[5] Alas-
[6] For the reason of making some money,
[7] Alas-
[8] left my sad mother, who couldn't bear to see me leave,
[9] Alas-
[10] left my older and younger sisters,
[11] Alas-
[12] left my older and younger brothers,
[13] Alas-
[14] left my sons and daughters,
[15] Alas-
[16] left my friends who followed each other like shadows from the same village and the same clan.
[17] Alas-
[18] After I came to other people's place,
[19] Alas-
[20] I miss all of you every day.
[21] Alas-
[22] Due to a lack of money,
[23] Alas-
[24] I came here and tasted the bittersweetness of life.
[25] Alas-
[26] Come to the world as a human being,
[27] Alas-
[28] life is so hard.

MSC TRANSLATION

[1] 哎-
[2] 离开自己的父亲和母亲，
[3] 哎-
[4] 来到了这个陌生的地方。
[5] 哎-
[6] 为了挣几个钱，
[7] 哎-
[8] 离开了舍不得我离去而伤心难过的母亲，

9 哎-
10 离开了姐姐和妹妹们，
11 哎-
12 离开了哥哥和弟弟们，
13 哎-
14 离开了儿子和女儿们，
15 哎-
16 离开了同村同族那些平日里形影不离的朋友们。
17 哎-
18 身在他乡，
19 哎-
20 日夜思念着他们。
21 哎-
22 因为缺钱出来打工，
23 哎-
24 尝尽了生活的酸甜苦辣。
25 哎-
26 生而为人，
27 哎-
28 活着是多么的艰辛。

PART FOUR:
MANGGHUER WEDDING SONGS

WEDDING SONG LANGUAGE FEATURES

Mangghuer wedding songs and bridal lamentations have similarities and differences in language features. Like the bridal lamentations, wedding songs also use old vocabulary, non-daily vocabulary, and non-daily expressions. Differences lie in the particular language used and the overall structure. The language features of wedding songs can be summarized as follows:

Non-Daily Vocabulary

Similar to bridal lamentations, wedding songs also use some old and non-daily vocabulary, such as *miaoke* in Wedding Song 1: Moghuolingni Andige and *youkhang* in Wedding Song 3: Suber Wula. These vocabulary items only appear in wedding songs. I have not found them in other Mangghuer songs.

Table 8. Non-daily vocabulary in the listed wedding songs.

Wedding Song	Daily Usage	Translation	Appears In
miaoke	shangke	taste	line 8, Wedding Song 1: Moghuolingni Andige
youkhang	yang	what	lines 2, 6, 10, 14..., Wedding Song 3: Suber Wula
kandu	du	in, on, at...	lines 2, 4, 6, 8, 10..., Wedding Song 3: Suber Wula

In addition, a typical word-formation method of Mangghuer is adding the suffix "-*li*" after the names of certain body parts, which changes the part of speech and meaning, and

becomes an action performed using the corresponding body part, such as *nudu* 'eye' - *nuduli* 'look', *nuru* 'back' - *nuruli* 'carry on the back', etc. This word formation is used by very elderly people and is rarely used in daily communication today. However, it is evident in wedding songs such as Suber Wula. More examples of such word-formation method are listed in Table 9.

Table 9. Examples of word-formation method "body part+*li*."

Body Part		Body Part+"li"			
Mangghuer	Translation	Mangghuer	Daily Usage	Translation	Appears In
manlai	forehead	manlaili	dingla	carry on the forehead	Lines 6, 8, Wedding Song 3: Suber Wula
nudu	eye	nuduli	wuji	see, look, watch	Lines 10, 12, Wedding Song 3: Suber Wula
ama	mouth	amali	amula	hold in the mouth	Lines 22, 24, Wedding Song 3: Suber Wula
guji	neck	gujili	gujidu zhuo	wear around the neck	Lines 26, 28, Wedding Song 3: Suber Wula
dalu	shoulder	daluli	dalula beila	carry on the shoulder	Lines 30, 32, 34, 36, Wedding Song 3: Suber Wula
nuru	back	nuruli	nurula beila	carry on the back	Lines 38, 40, Wedding Song 3: Suber Wula

erber	embrace	erberli	tierber	embrace in the arms	Lines 42, 44, Wedding Song 3: Suber Wula
boduo	knee	boduoli	sao	a sitting posture of sitting on one's own bent knees	Lines 54, 56, Wedding Song 3: Suber Wula

Non-Daily Expressions

Non-daily expressions in wedding songs are mainly reflected in adding modifiers before commonly used terms. These modifiers are not added in daily communication. For example, when the groom's female relatives performed the bride-welcoming song, Shangdang Qila, they referred to the bride's hair bun, *shangtu/shangdang*, as *bayang shangdang* 'noble hair bun' 'rich hair bun'. When they mentioned the villages of the bride and the groom, "*dahu*" 'big village' was added before the bride's village name to show respect, while adding "*xiaohu*" 'small village' before the groom's village name to express modesty. *Dahu* and *xiaohu* are, respectively, respectful and humble expressions, which have nothing to do with the size of the villages.

Mixed Use of Multiple Languages

The languages used in wedding songs include Mangghuer and the local Chinese dialect. Some songs, such as Moghuolingni Andige, are sung in Mangghuer; some, such as Menlou'er, are sung in the local dialect; while others, such as Suber Wula, are sung in a mixture of Mangghuer and the local Chinese dialect. Generally, in a song using Mangghuer and Chinese, some lyrics are Mangghuer and some lyrics are Chinese, but sometimes Mangghuer and Chinese alternately appear in the same lyric. For example, a lyric in the bride-welcoming song Shangdang Qila is:

Mu-ni	xiaohu	Wenjia-ni	houhuayuan-zhong-du
1:SG-GEN	small village	Wenjia-GEN	back garden-center-DAT

zai-liao	yi-kuo	songbeishu.
plant-PERF	one-CL	pine tree

Planted a pine tree in the center of the back garden of my small village Wenjia.

In this lyric, *muni*, *ni*, and *du* are Mangghuer, and *xiaohu*, *wenjia*, *houhuayuan*, *zhong*, *zailiao*, *yikuo*, *songbeishu* are local Chinese.

Fixed Lyrics and Structure

Although bridal lamentations used fixed phrases, such as *ayi ana* 'mother-like aunt', *nukuer xiudier* 'shadow-like friend', *chuyini nara* 'sun on the first day of the month', and *shiwuni sara* 'moon on the fifteenth day of the month', they had no fixed lyrics and structure. The content and duration of a bridal lamentation performance depended on the performer's talent. Each bridal lamentation performance could be improvised, and whether there were more or fewer lyrics during the performance was immaterial. In contrast, the lyrics and structure of most wedding songs are fixed. The wedding song performers cannot change the order of lyrics and paragraphs. Every lyric in the wedding songs is essential, though the lyrics sung in different villages may vary slightly.

High Narrativity

Mangghuer wedding songs are characterized by high narrativity, with each song typically depicting a complete event or story. The first wedding song listed in this book, Moghuolingni Andige, narrates the process of brewing liquor with highland barley, the second wedding song, Menlou'er, tells the story of a successful family with vivid details, and the third wedding song, Suber Wula, gives the full picture of a personified holy

mountain. Three additional examples of wedding songs that embody this narrative feature are:

Example 1: Qierji Mieran 'Qierji River', a song sung to two bridetakers by a bride's female relatives at her natal home, tells this story: Qierji River rises, carrying drifting logs. Build a pigsty with logs salvaged from the river and raise a pig in the pigsty. After fattening the pig, slaughter it, hold a banquet, and invite *ajiu* to the banquet.

Example 2: Jing Xigua 'Offer Watermelon' is sung to two bridetakers by a bride's female relatives at her natal home: A mother had three daughters. The eldest and second daughters were skilled embroiderers, while the third daughter excelled at growing watermelons. She planted watermelon seeds in a sandy field. The seeds sprouted, the vines grew, bloomed, and bore watermelons. In the end, the watermelons grew as large as big baskets. The first watermelon was offered to the two *ajiu* of the groom and bride, the second to the matchmaker, and the third to all the wedding guests.

Example 3: Badong Shenxian 'Eight Immortals'. This eight-stanza toast song sung by the male clan members of a groom to the guests is about an immortal group composed of eight immortals in Chinese myth. Each stanza describes an immortal's magic tool or mount, as well as auspicious items the immortal brings.

WEDDING SONG 1: MOGHUOLINGNI ANDIGE[119]

My friend, Deng Yulong (b. 1986), phoned me on a Saturday morning in June 2008 and asked, "How's your Mangghuer folk music collecting going? My uncle returned home yesterday. He is famous for his songs in my home village area. What if we visit him this weekend?"

That summer, I was collecting folk songs and searching for Mangghuer singers in my home area, an often frustrating endeavor because most adult villagers - the main bearers of traditional folk songs - had left to earn money in urban areas. So, eagerly accepting Mr. Deng's invitation, I jumped out of bed, prepared my sound recorder and camera, and rushed to the Guanting Senior Middle School where he teaches.

About twenty minutes later, I was sitting behind Mr. Deng on a motorcycle, heading to Dengjia Village, located in the mountains north of the Yellow River. About thirty minutes later, it was noon when we reached Mr. Deng's home. At this time, Mangghuer living in the plain areas of Sanchuan had started building houses with reinforced concrete. However, the houses in Mr. Deng's village featured traditional timber-and-cob wall construction, adorned with traditional carved wooden decorations. The narrow tracks leading to and from the mountain villages made transporting modern building materials virtually impossible.

After arriving, we found that Mr. Deng's uncle was visiting his wife's parents in Xing'er Tibetan Autonomous Township. His son told us he wouldn't be back that night. Few people were in the village that day, as most adults were doing voluntary labor in the village monastery, Ziger.[120] Mr. Deng told me that "*ziger*" was Tibetan for "monastery." He didn't know the full name of the *ziger* in his village, but he knew it was a

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[119]https://archive.org/download/MinheMangghuerSongscollectedByWenXiangcheng/12Track12.wma, accessed 30 January 2021.

[120] *Ziger* may be from *sgar* 'small (usually village) monastery' derived from *dmag sgar* 'camp', 'military camp'. (I thank Skal bzang nor bu for this information.)

subsidiary monastery of Ghada Ximian and there was a shortcut on the cliff leading to Ghada Ximian. Mr. Deng suggested that we find someone at the monastery construction site to sing for a recording, but I didn't want to disturb them.

I was aware of Yindong Ghuer 'Silver Cave Valley' near Mr. Deng's village from reading *Wuyan De Niujiaohao* '*The Wailing Bullhorn*' (published in 1989) written in Chinese by the Mangghuer writer, Bao Yizhi (b. 1951).[121] It was the first published literary treatment I had read that focused on the places and people in my home area. Yindong Ghuer was one of the locations featured in this work. I asked Mr. Deng to take me there. Elders say it is the only place in the Sanchuan Mangghuer area that produced coal.[122] According to the description in *Wuyan De Niujiaohao*, there must have been virgin forests in this area in the past. However, bushes, flowers, and grass were all I saw. Such a green, lush area was rare in my home area in 2024. Anyway, it was an ideal setting for Bao's stories.

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[121] See Stuart and Hu (1991, 1990) for more on Bao. For a story from this collection translated from Chinese to English, see Bao (1991).

[122] Before the 1980s, the use of coal for cooking or heating was rare in the Sanchuan area. Coal was expensive and difficult to transport from outside Sanchuan and down from local mountain areas like Yindong Ghuer. According to my father, very few people in his village's vicinity (Wenjia) fetched coal from Yindong Ghuer when he was a child. In the summer, locals burned straw for cooking and boiling water, while firewood and livestock dung were commonly used as fuel for heating in winter. In the 1980s, locals began using metal stoves for heating and cooking. At that time, the Mangghuer who purchased coal generally did so from the Guanting Town market for winter use, particularly during the Spring Festival period. Around 2000, bottled gas was introduced as a fuel in Sanchuan. Wen Yinxian was the first Wenjia Village resident to cook with bottled gas. To purchase it, he needed to ride his motorcycle about ten kilometers to Dahejia Town (located in Jishishan Bao'an, Dongxiang, and Salar Autonomous County, Linxia Hui Autonomous Prefecture, Gansu Province). Since 2010, Mangghuer families have increasingly used gas and electricity for cooking because they save time and it is more convenient than straw. By 2024, bottled gas was easily purchased from Guanting Town or ordered by phone for home delivery. However, most Mangghuer families still relied on coal for winter heating.

Figure 61. Yindong Ghuer (2008, Guanting Town, Wen Xiangcheng).

It was twilight as we rode back to Guanting Town. Passing through Renjia Village, we saw a woman sweeping a yard in front of a small shop. No other buildings were near. After several hours of walking in Yindong Ghuer, we became thirsty and stopped to buy drinks.

"How about having some cups of hot water?" asked the shop owner, Ms. Zhu Lanxiang (b. 1946), after we bought two bottles of Pepsi, "These commercial drinks can't quench your thirst. I have a solar cooker here in the yard, so I have plenty of hot water."

Ms. Zhu was talkative. I explained the purpose of our trip and asked if she could sing any Mangghuer folk songs. She laughed, "Of course! Everybody can sing Mangghuer songs! I don't know any modern songs. I sing only the old songs."

Though she was a bit shy, she agreed to sing. It was dark and hot inside her shop, so we moved to the yard where there were two or three plastic stools and one wooden chair. Ms. Zhu and I spent quite a while politely insisting that the other take

the chair. Ms. Zhu insisted I sit in the chair because I was a guest, while I insisted that she take the chair because she was much older than me and would be singing. She finally consented. Mr. Deng and I sat on the stools.

As soon as she started singing, I realized she was an excellent singer. Her melodious singing flew into the valley in front of her small shop. She sang two wedding songs (including "Moghuolingni Andige," below) and a lullaby (not presented here).

After I finished recording, I asked if I could take her picture. She agreed and removed her dark green kerchief, explaining, "We mountain women wear kerchiefs, which are not stylish today on the Guanting streets. Let me take it off, or people will laugh when they see my picture."

A week later, I had her photograph developed and asked Mr. Deng to give it to her the next time he went home.

Moghuolingni Andige was performed only by women from the bride's clan when they offered liquor to two bridetakers from the groom's clan at the bride's parents' home on the *aguer dahula* night while the two bridetakers waited for the bride's *shangma* ceremony.

Mangghuer usually refer to a song by its first line or just the first few words of the first line, which may not accurately reflect the song's actual content. Moghuolingni Andige is one such example. Although Mangghuer call this song Moghuolingni Andige 'Round Egg' or Boghuolingni Andige 'Low Egg', the content of the song is actually about brewing liquor from highland barley, not about eggs. As for why eggs are mentioned in a song about brewing liquor, elders I consulted explained that eggs were added to the liquor when it was produced locally decades ago. This was likely related to the protein in egg whites precipitating suspended solids, thereby clarifying the liquor.

The pronunciations of "*moghuoling*" 'round' and "*boghuoling*" 'low' are very similar. Some singers used "*moghuoling*," while others used "*boghuoling*." Ms. Zhu Lanxiang sang "*moghuolingni andige*" in her performance, but

I have also heard other singers sing "*boghuolingni andige*." The term "*moghuoling*" is used among the Mangghuer in the mountain villages of Guanting Town, whereas those living in the plain areas of Sanchuan use "*tuoguruo*" for 'round'.

This song was commonly heard at weddings in the mountain areas before the year 2000 and later spread to the plain areas, even though Mangghuer in the plain areas do not use the term "*moghuoling*" in daily communication.

1

moghuoling-ni	andige	moghuoling-her
圆的	鸡蛋	圆一些
round-ASSOC	egg	round-COMP

Round egg is a bit round.

2

qingkuo	qing-ni	duruasi	china-gu	ge
青稞	清的	酒	煮	做
highland barley	clear-ASSOC	liquor	boil-IMPERF	do

Boil highland barley to make clear liquor.

3

amukhang-ni	kuerniege	panluo-gu	ge
小米的	酒曲	搅拌进去	做
millet-GEN	yeast	stir-IMPERF	do

Stir yeast made from millet into the boiled highland barley.

4

shouqingla-gu	luzi-du	dala-gu	ge
燃烧很旺的	炉子里	酿造	做
blazing-IMPERF	stove-DAT	brew-IMPERF	do

Brew liquor on the blazing stove.

5

shazi	sha-ni	jiuger-du	jielie-gu	ge
沙子	黄色的	酒缸里	接	做
sand	yellow-ASSOC	liquor jar-DAT	collect-IMPERF	do

Collect liquor in the sand-yellow jar.

6

dala-sang-ni	kuguo	duruasi	muni
酿造的	蓝色	酒	我的
brew-PERF-NOMLZR	clear	liquor	my

warzhighe-ni	zhongzhuer-du
陶瓷的	酒盅里
porcelain-GEN	liquor cup-DAT

Brewed clear liquor in my porcelain cup.

7

cuguan	gaga	yo
娶倌	哥哥	哟
bridetaker	older-brother	PRT

Older-Brother bridetakers,

8

muni	qingkuo	qing-ni	dala-sang-ni
我的	青稞	清的	酿造的
my	highland barley	clear-GEN	brew-PERF-NOMLZR

yizhong-ni	miaoke	ya
一盅	品尝	呀
one cup-ACC	taste	PRT

Please taste one cup of liquor that I brewed from highland barley.

9

cuguan	gaga
娶倌	哥哥
bridetaker	older-brother

Older-Brother bridetakers,

10

ni	yibei-ni	duruasi-ni	qi	wu	yo
这	一杯的	酒	你	喝	哟
this	one cup-GEN	liquor-ACC	you	drink	PRT

Drink this cup of liquor.

MANGGHUER
(lyrics as performed)

[1] Moghuolingni andige moghuoling'her.
[2] Qingkuo qingni duruasi chinagu ge.

[3] Amukhangni kuerniege panluogu ge.
[4] Shouqinglagu luzidu dalagu ge.
[5] Shazi shani jiugerdu jieliegu ge.
[6] Dalasangni kuguo duruasi muni warzhigheni zhongzhuerdu.
[7] Cuguan gaga yo,
[8] Muni qingkuo qingni dalasangni yizhongni miaoke ya.
[9] Cuguan gagani,
[10] Ni yibeini duruasini qi wu yo.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

[1] Round egg is a bit round.
[2] Boil highland barley to make clear liquor.
[3] Stir yeast made from millet into the boiled highland barley.
[4] Brew liquor on the blazing stove.
[5] Collect liquor in the sand-yellow jar.
[6] Brewed clear liquor in my porcelain cup.
[7] Older-Brother bridetakers,
[8] Please taste one cup of liquor that I brewed from highland barley.
[9] Older-Brother bridetakers,
[10] Drink this cup of liquor.

MSC TRANSLATION

[1] 圆圆的鸡蛋圆圆的。
[2] 把丰收的青稞煮熟了酿酒。
[3] 把小米做的酒曲搅拌进去。
[4] 在熊熊燃烧的火炉上酿造美酒。
[5] 酿好的美酒接到沙黄色的酒缸。
[6] 清洌的美酒倒进我陶瓷的酒盅。
[7] 娶倌哥哥,
[8] 请你品尝一盅我亲手酿造的青稞美酒。
[9] 娶倌哥哥,
[10] 请你喝下这盅美酒。

WEDDING SONG 2: MENLOU'ER[123]

Menlou'er 'Gatehouse' was performed only by men at weddings in the local Chinese dialect. It was sung by two men from the groom's clan when liquor was offered to important guests at the groom's home, such as the groom's and bride's *ajiu*, the matchmaker, the bride's father (or grandfather), and old villagers with the highest *benbei* at the banquet.

The first five stanzas of the song describe an ideal family - wealthy (only wealthy families had imposing gatehouses as shown in Figure 63), consisting of three sons and one daughter. A Mangghuer family with at least two sons and one daughter was considered a model family: one son stayed at home to do farm work and take care of the parents, while the other sons had official jobs outside, bringing honor and providing financial support to the family. Daughters were better positioned to offer intimate care to their mother in her old age, as communication between women was generally easier. They were also responsible for preparing their parents' burial garments and performing funeral lamentations during their parents' funerals.

The family mentioned in this song has three sons and one daughter. All are successful - a blessing to the new family. However, this song's immediate, practical purpose is to offer liquor to main guests, so the last stanza is the most important part of the song, with these key guests described as Eight-Treasure elders 'Eight Celestial beings'. When this last stanza was sung, young men from the groom's clan approached the guests and offered liquor.

I recorded this song in Wen Yinxian's home in Wenjia Village in June 2008. The two singers were Wen Yinxian and his younger cousin, Wen Xuezhong. During weddings held by my paternal clan members, Wen Yinxian and Wen Xuezhong were singing partners because of their similar voices and age. Mangghuer often spent a week or more practicing singing and

[123]https://archive.org/download/MinheMangghuerSongscollectedByWenXiangcheng/01Track1.wma, accessed 30 January 2021.

rehearsing before the wedding day. However, Wen Yinxian and Wen Xuezhong had sung together many times, so they started singing after a few cups of liquor without rehearsing.

This song is glossed and presented in local Chinese as performed, English translation, and an MSC version.

Figure 62. Wen Yinxian (L) and Wen Xuezhong (R) play a drinking game at their ancestral graveyard in Wenjia (2009, Wenjia Village, Wen Xiangcheng).

Figure 63. The gate of Wenjia Tibetan Buddhist Monastery with a *menlou'er* (1934, Carter D Holton).[124]

[124] http://id.lib.harvard.edu/images/8001559210/catalog, accessed 22 September 2023. This picture's title is: Gate of Youning Lamasery Temple. The description is: "Outside gate of Youning Lamasery Temple, Tu women and children, Tibetans, wait for the entering, Huzhu County, Qinghai, 1940. Historical: 佑宁寺院大门. Related site(s): Huzhu County. 青海互助县." However, the bound feet, hairstyle, and dress indicate these are Mangghuer women, not Huzhu Mongghul women, who did not bind their feet. The rammed earth wall shown in other photos taken in the same place as this one is identical to the existing rammed earth wall of Wenjia Monastery. This indicates that the monastery in the photo is Wenjia Monastery.

1

menlou'er	xiu-di	gao
门楼儿	修的	高
gatehouse	build-ASSOC	high

Gatehouse built high.

2

menlou'er	xiu-di	gao	ya
门楼儿	修的	高	呀
gatehouse	build-ASSOC	high	PRT

Gatehouse built high.

3

si	gezi	tixuan	zhe	gua	zai	liang	bian	ya
四	格子	提悬	着	挂	在	两	边	呀
four	corner	overhanging	thus	hang	at	two	side	PRT

The four corners of the gatehouse are upturned on two sides.

4

dangzhong	li	gua	shadeng	ya
当中	里	挂	纱灯	呀
exactly in the center	in	hang up	gauze lantern	PRT

A gauze lantern is hung exactly in the center under the roof.

5

zuo-di	shi	you	hu-di	ren	ya	ai hai yo
坐的	是	有	福的	人	呀	哎咳哟
sit-ASSOC	is	has	good fortune-GEN	person	PRT	PRT

A man with good fortune lives in the house.

6

dangzhong	li	gua	shadeng	ya
当中	里	挂	纱灯	呀
exactly in the center	in	hang up	gauze lantern	PRT

A gauze lantern is hung exactly in the center under the roof.

7

zuo-di	shi	you	hu-di	ren	ya	ai hai yo
坐的	是	有	福的	人	呀	哎咳哟
sit-ASSOC	is	has	good fortune-GEN	person	PRT	PRT

A man with good fortune lives in the house.

8

dixing	ma	san-ge	ren	ai
弟兄	嘛	三个	人	哎
brothers	PRT	three-CL	person	PRT

There are three brothers. (The man has three sons.)

9

dixing	ma	san-ge	ren	ai
弟兄	嘛	三个	人	哎
brothers	PRT	three-CL	person	PRT

There are three brothers.

10

da	ya	gege	zuo-di	shi	hezhou	cheng	yo
大	呀	哥哥	坐的	是	河州	城	哟
big	PRT	older brother	sit-ASSOC	is	Hezhou	City	PRT

The eldest brother is the first leader of Hezhou City.[125]

11

shou	zhang	shang	xuehua'er	yin	ya
手	掌	上	雪花儿	银	呀
hand	hold	on	snow	silver	PRT

He holds snow-white silver in his hands.

12

jie-di	shi	wenwu-di	guan	ya	ai hai yo
接的	是	文武的	官	呀	哎咳哟
greet-ASSOC	is	civil and military-GEN	officer	PRT	PRT

Greets civil officials and military officers.

13

shou	zhang	shang	xuehua'er	yin	ya
手	掌	上	雪花儿	银	呀
hand	hold	on	snow	silver	PRT

He holds snow-white silver in his hands.

14

jie-di	shi	wenwu-di	guan	ya	ai hai yo
接的	是	文武的	官	呀	哎咳哟
greet-ASSOC	is	civil and military-GEN	officer	PRT	PRT

Greets civil officials and military officers.

[125] In 2024, Hezhou City was known as Linxia City, Gansu Province.

15

er	gege	zhuangnongren	ai
二	哥哥	庄农人	哎
second	older brother	farmer	PRT

The second older brother is a farmer.

16

er	gege	zhuangnongren	ai
二	哥哥	庄农人	哎
second	older brother	farmer	PRT

The second older brother is a farmer.

17

xin	xiang	niannian	yao	chu	yi tang	men	ya
心	想	年年	要	出	一趟	门	呀
heart	think	every year	want	go out	one trip	door	PRT

What he wants is to leave once a year to earn money.

18

zou-liao	ge	zhuma	cheng	ya
走了	个	zhuma	城	呀
walk-PERF	once	Zhuma	City	PRT

He went to Zhuma City.

19

jin	yin-ha	na	dou	lier	liang	ya	ai hai yo
金	银	拿	斗	俩	量	呀	哎咳哟
gold	silver-OBJ	take	*dou*[126]	with	measure	PRT	PRT

Earned so much gold and silver that he had to measure them by the *dou*.

20

zou-liao	ge	zhuma	cheng	ya
走了	个	zhuma	城	呀
walk-PERF	once	Zhuma	City	PRT

He went to Zhuma City.

---

[126] *Dou* was a grain measure also known as *shengzi* (Figures 50a and 50b).

21

jin	yin-ha	na	dou	lier	liang	ya	ai hai yo
金	银	拿	斗	俩儿	量	呀	哎咳哟
gold	silver- OBJ	take	*dou*	with	measure	PRT	PRT

Earned so much gold and silver that he had to measure them by the *dou*.

22

san	gege	nianji	qing	ye
三	哥哥	年纪	轻	呀
third	older brother	age	young	PRT

The third older brother is young.

23

san	gege	nianji	qing	ye
三	哥哥	年纪	轻	呀
third	older brother	age	young	PRT

The third older brother is young.

24

song	dao	ge	xuetang	zhe	ba	ya
送	到	个	学堂	着	把	呀
send	arrive	SG:INDEF	school	thus	take	PRT

shu-ha	nian	ya
书	念	呀
book-OBJ	read	PRT

He was sent to a school to study.

25

zou-liao	ge	beijing	cheng	ya
走了	个	北京	城	呀
walk-PERF	once	Beijing	City	PRT

He went to Beijing City to take the imperial examination.

26

zhuangyuan	shi	tou	yi	ming	ya	ai hai yo
状元	是	头	一	名	呀	哎咳哟
zhuangyuan[127]	is	top	one	place	PRT	PRT

Got first place and became a *zhuangyuan*.

[127] The scholar who received the highest score on highest level of the imperial examination (Hucker 1985:187).

27

zou-liao	ge	beijing	cheng	ya
走了	个	北京	城	呀
walk-PERF	once	Beijing	City	PRT

He went to Beijing City to take the imperial examination.

28

zhuangyuan	shi	tou	yi	ming	ya	ai hai yo
状元	是	头	一	名	呀	哎咳哟
zhuangyuan	is	top	one	place	PRT	PRT

Got first place and became a *zhuangyuan*.

29

yi	ni	ma	ta	xianliang	ye
一	女	嘛	她	贤良	耶
one	girl	PRT	she	virtuous and kind	PRT

A virtuous and kind girl.

30

yi	ni	ma	ta	xianliang	ye
一	女	嘛	她	贤良	耶
one	girl	PRT	she	virtuous and kind	PRT

A virtuous and kind girl.

31

wansuiye	xuan	ta	zuo-liao	zhenggong	ya
万岁爷	选	她	做了	正宫	呀
emperor	choose	her	become-PERF	empress	PRT

The emperor chose her as his empress.

32

zuo-di	shi	jinlong	dian	ya
坐的	是	金龙	殿	呀
sit-ASSOC	is	Golden Dragon	Palace	PRT

She sits in the Golden Dragon Palace.

33

tianxia'er-ha	bao	taiping	ya	ai hai yo
天下儿	保	太平	呀	哎咳哟
the world-OBJ	protect	peace	PRT	PRT

Keeps the world in peace.

34

zuo-di	shi	jinlong	dian	ya
坐的	是	金龙	殿	呀
sit-ASSOC	is	Golden Dragon	Palace	PRT

She sits in the Golden Dragon Palace.

35

tianxia'er-ha	bao	taiping	ya	ai hai yo
天下儿	保	太平	呀	哎咳哟
the world-OBJ	protect	peace	PRT	PRT

Keeps the world in peace.

36

shou	xi-li	pu	hongzhan	ya
首	席里	铺	红毡	呀
first	banquet table-DAT	lay	red felt	PRT

Place red felt under the most honored banquet table.

37

shou	xi-li	pu	hongzhan	ya
首	席里	铺	红毡	呀
first	banquet table-DAT	lay	red felt	PRT

Place red felt under the most honored banquet table.

38

man	xi-li	zuo-di	shi	babao
满	席里	坐的	是	八宝
all	banquet table-DAT	sit-ASSOC	are	Eight Treasures[128]

laohan	ya
老汉	呀
old man	PRT

All guests sitting around the banquet tables are Eight-Treasure elders.

39

babao	laohan	ya
八宝	老汉	呀
Eight Treasures	old man	PRT

Eight-Treasure elders.

---

[128] For examples of the Eight Treasures, see (https://gotheborg.com/glossary/eightemblems.shtml, accessed 29 January 2021).

40

jinyin-ha	dui	cheng	ge	shan	ya
金银	堆	成	个	山	呀
gold and silver-OBJ	pile	become	SG:INDEF	hill	PRT

ai hai yo
哎咳哟
PRT

Bring so much gold and silver and pile them up into a hill.

41

babao	laohan	ya
八宝	老汉	呀
Eight Treasures	old man	PRT

Eight-Treasure elders.

42

jinyin-ha	dui	cheng	ge	shan	ya
金银	堆	成	个	山	呀
gold and silver-OBJ	pile	become	SG:INDEF	hill	PRT

ai hai yo
哎咳哟
PRT

Bring so much gold and silver and pile them up into a hill.

PINYIN
(lyrics as performed)

1

[1] Men lou er xiu di gao,
[2] Men lou er xiu di gao ya.
[3] Si ge zi ti xuan zhe gua zai liang bian ya.
[4] Dang zhong li gua sha deng ya,
[5] Zuo di shi you hu di ren ya ai hai yo.
[6] Dang zhong li gua sha deng ya,
[7] Zuo di shi you hu di ren ya ai hai yo.

2
[8] Di xing ma san ge ren ai,
[9] Di xing ma san ge ren ai.
[10] Da ya ge ge zuo di shi he zhou cheng yo.
[11] Shou zhang shang xue hua er yin ya,
[12] Jie di shi wen wu di guan ya ai hai yo.
[13] Shou zhang shang xue hua er yin ya,
[14] Jie di shi wen wu di guan ya ai hai yo.

3
[15] Er ge ge zhuang nong ren ai,
[16] Er ge ge zhuang nong ren ai,
[17] Xin xiang nian nian yao chu yi tang men ya.
[18] Zou liao ge zhu ma cheng ya,
[19] Jin yin ha na dou lier liang ya ai hai yo.
[20] Zou liao ge zhu ma cheng ya,
[21] Jin yin ha na dou lier liang ya ai hai yo.

4
[22] San ge ge nian ji qing ye,
[23] San ge ge nian ji qing ye.
[24] Song dao ge xue tang zhe ba ya shu ha nian ya.
[25] Zou liao ge bei jing cheng ya,
[26] Zhuang yuan shi tou yi ming ya ai hai yo.
[27] Zou liao ge bei jing cheng ya,
[28] Zhuang yuan shi tou yi ming ya ai hai yo.

5
[29] Yi ni ma ta xian liang ye,
[30] Yi ni ma ta xian liang ye,
[31] Wan sui ye xuan ta zuo liao zheng gong ya.
[32] Zuo di shi jin long dian ya,
[33] Tian xia er ha bao tai ping ya ai hai yo.
[34] Zuo di shi jin long dian ya,
[35] Tian xia er ha bao tai ping ya ai hai yo.

6

[36] Shou xi li pu hong zhan ya,
[37] Shou xi li pu hong zhan ya.
[38] Man xi li zuo di shi ba bao lao han ya.
[39] Ba bao lao han ya,
[40] Jin yin ha dui cheng ge shan ya ai hai yo.
[41] Ba bao lao han ya,
[42] Jin yin ha dui cheng ge shan ya ai hai yo.

THE LOCAL CHINESE DIALECT
(lyrics as performed)

1

[1] 门楼儿修得高呀,
[2] 门楼儿修得高呀。
[3] 四格子提悬着挂在两边呀。
[4] 当中里挂纱灯呀,
[5] 坐的是有福的人呀哎咳哟。
[6] 当中里挂纱灯呀,
[7] 坐的是有福的人呀哎咳哟。

2

[8] 弟兄嘛三个人哎,
[9] 弟兄嘛三个人哎。
[10] 大呀哥哥坐的是河州城哟。
[11] 手掌上雪花儿银呀,
[12] 接的是文武的官呀哎咳哟。
[13] 手掌上雪花儿银呀,
[14] 接的是文武的官呀哎咳哟。

3

[15] 二哥哥庄农人哎,
[16] 二哥哥庄农人哎。
[17] 心想年年要出一趟门呀。
[18] 走了个 zhuma 城呀,
[19] 金银哈拿斗俩儿量呀哎咳哟。
[20] 走了个 zhuma 城呀,
[21] 金银哈拿斗俩儿量呀哎咳哟。

4
[22] 三哥哥年纪轻耶,
[23] 三哥哥年纪轻耶。
[24] 送到个学堂着把呀书哈念呀。
[25] 走了个北京城呀,
[26] 状元是头一名呀哎咳哟。
[27] 走了个北京城呀,
[28] 状元是头一名呀哎咳哟。

5
[29] 一女嘛她贤良耶,
[30] 一女嘛她贤良耶。
[31] 万岁爷选她做了正宫呀。
[32] 坐的是金龙殿呀,
[33] 天下儿哈保太平呀哎咳哟。
[34] 坐的是金龙殿呀,
[35] 天下儿哈保太平呀哎咳哟。

6
[36] 首席里铺红毡呀,
[37] 首席里铺红毡呀。
[38] 满席里坐的是八宝老汉呀。
[39] 八宝老汉呀,
[40] 金银哈堆成个山呀哎咳哟。
[41] 八宝老汉呀,
[42] 金银哈堆成个山呀哎咳哟。

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

1
[1] Gatehouse built high.
[2] Gatehouse built high.
[3] The four corners of the gatehouse are upturned on two sides.
[4] A gauze lantern is hung exactly in the center under the roof.
[5] A man with good fortune lives in the house.
[6] A gauze lantern is hung exactly in the center under the roof.
[7] A man with good fortune lives in the house.

2

[8] There are three brothers. (The man has three sons.)
[9] There are three brothers.
[10] The eldest brother is the first leader of Hezhou City.
[11] He holds snow-white silver in his hands.
[12] Greets civil officials and military officers.
[13] He holds snow-white silver in his hands.
[14] Greets civil officials and military officers.

3

[15] The second older brother is a farmer.
[16] The second older brother is a farmer.
[17] What he wants is to leave once a year to earn money.
[18] He went to Zhuma City.
[19] Earned so much gold and silver that he had to measure them by the *dou*.
[20] He went to Zhuma City.
[21] Earned so much gold and silver that he had to measure them by the *dou*.

4

[22] The third older brother is young.
[23] The third older brother is young.
[24] He was sent to a school to study.
[25] He went to Beijing City to take the imperial examination.
[26] Got first place and became a *zhuangyuan*.
[27] He went to Beijing City to take the imperial examination.
[28] Got first place and became a *zhuangyuan*.

5

[29] A virtuous and kind girl.
[30] A virtuous and kind girl.
[31] The emperor chose her as his empress.
[32] She sits in the Golden Dragon Palace.
[33] Keeps the world in peace.
[34] She sits in the Golden Dragon Palace.
[35] Keeps the world in peace.

6
[36] Place red felt under the most honored banquet table.
[37] Place red felt under the most honored banquet table.
[38] All guests sitting around the banquet tables are Eight-Treasure elders.
[39] Eight-Treasure elders.
[40] Bring so much gold and silver and pile them up into a hill.
[41] Eight-Treasure elders.
[42] Bring so much gold and silver and pile them up into a hill.

MSC TRANSLATION

1
[1] 门楼儿修得高,
[2] 门楼儿修得高。
[3] 四角高悬在两边。
[4] 正中间挂着一盏纱灯,
[5] (房子里) 住的是一位有福气的人。
[6] 正中间挂着一盏纱灯,
[7] (房子里) 住的是一位有福气的人。

2
[8] 弟兄三个人,
[9] 弟兄三个人。
[10] 大哥在河州城做官。
[11] 手上捧着雪花银,
[12] 迎接文武官员。
[13] 手上捧着雪花银,
[14] 迎接文武官员。

3
[15] 二哥是个农民,
[16] 二哥是个农民。
[17] 他心想每年都出门挣钱。
[18] 去了一趟 zhuma 城,
[19] 挣下的金银多到用斗升来量。
[20] 去了一趟 zhuma 城,
[21] 挣下的金银多到用斗升来量。

4

[22] 三哥年纪轻,
[23] 三哥年纪轻。
[24] 被送到学堂去读书。
[25] 去北京参加科举考试,
[26] 他考取了状元。
[27] 去北京参加科举考试,
[28] 他考取了状元。

5

[29] 有个女儿她贤惠善良,
[30] 有个女儿她贤惠善良。
[31] 皇帝选她做了正宫娘娘。
[32] 她坐在金銮殿,
[33] 为天下百姓保太平。
[34] 她坐在金銮殿,
[35] 为天下百姓保太平。

6

[36] 首席桌下铺着红毡,
[37] 首席桌下铺着红毡。
[38] 所有席上坐着的都是八宝老汉。
[39] 八宝老汉们,
[40] 带来的金银财宝堆成了山。
[41] 八宝老汉们,
[42] 带来的金银财宝堆成了山。

This song's name has been pronounced differently in Sanchuan, including Suberla, Serberla, Siberla, Suber Wula, Siber Wula, Serber Wula, Sibur Wula, and Sibu Wula. I used Suber Wula based on the singer's pronunciation.

Although Suber Wula 'Mount Suber' 'Suber Mountain' sounds like the name of a mountain, the song's content implies it has a human form with a head, facial features (eyes, nose, mouth, ears), a body, and limbs. However, the description suggests that Mount Suber is not an ordinary human but rather an enormous, powerful creator of the world with a blue sky on its head, the earth under its feet, the sun, moon, and stars on its back and shoulders, numerous deities on its forehead, the light of the world in its eyes, various sounds in its ears, various grains in its mouth, and silver kneecaps. It stands on the earth carrying the sky with its head and bringing the sun, moon, stars, light, sound, odor, food, religion, holy books, and writing tools to the world.

None of the elders in Mangghuer communities I interviewed between 2000 and 2010 knew where Suber Wula was or what "*suber*" meant. They said that there was no mountain called Suber in the Sanchuan area. Hu Jun believes that Suber Wula is Xianbei Mountain and describes the geographical location of Suber Wula as:

> In historical documents, the earliest Xianbei Mountain was recorded in southern Daxinganling, located in eastern Mongolia and northwestern Manchuria... One of the wedding songs of the 'Monguor'/'Tu' provides an account on the meaning and significance of the Xianbei Mountain. It is referred to as 'Sibur ni wula', which means 'the mountain of the Xianbei' (Hu 2010:114).

However, I consulted the Finnish linguist and former Professor of East Asian Studies at the University of Helsinki,

Juha Janhunen, about the issue of Suber Wula, and he provided the following explanation:

... Obviously, modern speakers of Mangghuer have no clear idea of this "mountain," as is also shown by the various forms in which its name occurs (such as Suber, Serber, Siber, Sibur, Sibu). However, it is worth mentioning that this is an ancient concept of Indian mythology, incorporated into Buddhism. Suber Wula is the "World Mountain," which rises in the middle of the universe surrounded by the "World Ocean" ("Milk Sea"). The name "Suber" goes back to Sanskrit "Sumeru" or "Meru," and the mountain is known to the Mongols in the form "Sümber Uula," which is a common topic in folklore. The Mangghuer seem to have inherited the term from the ancient Mongols. So, there is no real connection with Xianbei or other historical or local features: those are just learned folk etymologies.

This song was performed at the bride's parents' home on the night a bride left for her groom's home. It was typically performed by two groups of women from the bride's clan to the two bridetakers from the groom's clan. These two groups of women stood face to face, or formed a circle and sang while slowly spinning clockwise in the center of the bride's parents' main room. One group sang the questions and the other sang back answers.

The Suber Wula recorded in this book was performed by Ma Yingtao (1957-2022) from Wenjia Village, Zhongchuan Township in June 2008. Aunt Yingtao was a well-known wedding song performer in Wenjia and a singer I planned to record in the summer of 2008.

Villagers worked in the fields during the day and only had free time at night, so I chose an evening to go to Aunt Yingtao's home to record wedding songs, accompanied by my older brother, Wen Yinxian. After recording several wedding songs, Aunt Yingtao noticed I was carrying a camera. She asked if I would take separate photos of her and her husband to serve

as their funeral portraits. During a Mangghuer funeral, the deceased's portrait is placed on a small table in front of the coffin, and after the funeral, it is placed on the *baxian* 'Eight Immortals' table in the main room or hung on the wall in remembrance. I agreed though I didn't understand why she wanted a funeral portrait at the age of fifty-one.

Worried about the poor quality of photos taken at night, I returned to her home at noon the next day and took many photos of her, her husband, and her son. After about ten days, I gave them the processed photos. Unfortunately, Aunt Yingtao passed away from illness in 2022 at the age of sixty-five. I hope her family finds some comfort every time they see her funeral portrait I took.

Locals customarily prepared burial objects such as coffins, burial garments, and burial bedding after the age of sixty. After an elder's coffin was made, the family usually held a banquet to celebrate. However, since the beginning of the twenty-first century, with life expectancy rising, elders tended to begin preparing burial objects after the age of seventy. Around 2010, some no longer prepared coffins in advance because coffin shops in Guanting Town offered ready-made coffins in a variety of styles, materials, sizes, and price ranges. When a person passed away, the family purchased a ready-made painted coffin from one of these coffin shops. By 2024, an increasing number of Mangghuer families chose to do so for convenience, thus avoiding the trouble of inviting carpenters and painters to make a coffin at home.

Noteworthy details in this song describe what Suber Wula carries on its shoulders. The lyrics begin by describing what is carried on its left shoulder and then on its right shoulder. When describing what Suber Wula holds in its hands, it first describes what it holds in its left hand and then in its right hand. This coincides with the Mangghuer tradition mentioned earlier of the left side being considered more important and more honored than the right side.

1

ai	suber-ni	wula	yo
哎	suber[129]	山	哟
VOL	Suber-ASSOC	Mountain	PRT

Oh, Mount Suber.

2

ai	suber	wula-ni	terghai-kandu
哎	suber	山的	头上
VOL	Suber	Mountain-GEN	head-DAT

dingla-sang-ni	youkhang	biu
顶的是	什么	有
carry-PERF-NOMLZR	what	SUBJ:COP:QUEST

Oh, what does Mount Suber carry on its head?

3

ai	suber-ni	wula	yo
哎	suber	山	哟
VOL	Suber-ASSOC	Mountain	PRT

Oh, Mount Suber.

4

ai	suber	wula-ni	terghai-kandu
哎	suber	山的	头上
VOL	Suber	Mountain-GEN	head-DAT

[129] Suber is a Mangghuer term with an unclear meaning in Sanchuan and cannot be accurately translated into Chinese or English. Chinese characters, based on the term's pronunciation, have been used to record it, e.g., 素卜 (Xu 2014:178), 思不 (Ma 1982:58), and 素堡 (Zhao 1992:530). Some scholars believe that "Suber" refers to "Xianbei," an association of nomadic tribes living in the steppe region north of China during the Jin Dynasty (265-420) and the Northern and Southern Dynasties (420-589) (https://www.ancient-origins.net/history-famous-people/xianbei-chinese-dynasty-nomadic-warriors-steppe-0010090, accessed 8 December 2024). Lü (2002:10) and Hu (2010:114) give 鲜卑 'xian bei' in Chinese and suggest this is "Suber." However, given the current lack of direct evidence linking "Suber" to "Xianbei," I use "Suber."

dingla-sang-ni	kuguo-ni	tiangere	biu
顶的是	蓝色的	天	有
carry-PERF-NOMLZR	blue-ASSOC	sky	OBJ:COP

Oh, Mount Suber carries the blue sky on its head.

5

ai	suber-ni	wula	yo
哎	suber	山	哟
VOL	Suber-ASSOC	Mountain	PRT

Oh, Mount Suber.

6

ai	suber	wula-ni	manlai-kandu
哎	suber	山的	额头上
VOL	Suber	Mountain-GEN	forehead-DAT

manlaili-sang-ni	youkhang	biu
顶的是	什么	有
hold-PERF-NOMLZR	what	SUBJ:COP:QUEST

Oh, what does Mount Suber have on its forehead?

7

ai	suber-ni	wula	yo
哎	suber	山	哟
VOL	Suber-ASSOC	Mountain	PRT

Oh, Mount Suber.

8

ai	suber	wula-ni	manlai-kandu
哎	suber	山的	额头上
VOL	Suber	Mountain-GEN	forehead-DAT

manlaili-sang-ni	wulan-ni	perghang	biu
顶的是	众多的	神	有
hold-PERF-NOMLZR	numerous-ASSOC	deity	OBJ:COP

Oh, Mount Suber has numerous deities on its forehead.

9

ai	suber-ni	wula	yo
哎	suber	山	哟
VOL	Suber-ASSOC	Mountain	PRT

Oh, Mount Suber.

10

ai	suber	wula-ni	nudu-kandu	nuduli-sang-ni
哎	suber	山的	眼睛里	看到的是
VOL	Suber	Mountain-GEN	eye-DAT	see-PERF-NOMLZR

youkhang	biu
什么	有
what	SUBJ:COP:QUEST

Oh, what does Mount Suber see with its eyes?

11

ai	suber-ni	wula	yo
哎	suber	山	哟
VOL	Suber-ASSOC	Mountain	PRT

Oh, Mount Suber.

12

ai	suber	wula-ni	nudu-kandu	nuduli-sang-ni
哎	suber	山的	眼睛里	看到的是
VOL	Suber	Mountain-GEN	eye-DAT	see-PERF-NOMLZR

yangshi-ni	geigan	biu
阳世的	光	有
world-GEN	light	OBJ:COP

Oh, Mount Suber sees the world's light with its eyes.

13

ai	suber-ni	wula	yo
哎	suber	山	哟
VOL	Suber-ASSOC	Mountain	PRT

Oh, Mount Suber.

14

ai	suber	wula-ni	qige-kandu	suonuosi-sang-ni
哎	suber	山的	耳朵里	听到的是
VOL	Suber	Mountain-GEN	ear-DAT	hear-PERF-NOMLZR

youkhang	biu
什么	有
what	SUBJ:COP:QUEST

Oh, what does Mount Suber hear with its ears?

15

ai	suber-ni	wula	yo
哎	suber	山	哟
VOL	Suber-ASSOC	Mountain	PRT

Oh, Mount Suber.

16

ai	suber	wula-ni	qige-kandu	suonuosi-sang-ni
哎	suber	山的	耳朵里	听到的是
VOL	Suber	Mountain-GEN	ear-DAT	hear-PERF-NOMLZR

yangshi-ni	shengyin	biu
阳世的	声音	有
world-GEN	sound	OBJ:COP

Oh, Mount Suber hears the world's sound with its ears.

17

ai	suber-ni	wula	yo
哎	suber	山	哟
VOL	Suber-ASSOC	Mountain	PRT

Oh, Mount Suber.

18

ai	suber	wula-ni	khaber-kandu
哎	suber	山的	鼻子里
VOL	Suber	Mountain-GEN	nose-DAT

hongti-sang-ni	youkhang	biu
闻到的是	什么	有
smell-PERF-NOMLZR	what	SUBJ:COP:QUEST

Oh, what does Mount Suber smell with its nose?

19

ai	suber-ni	wula	yo
哎	suber	山	哟
VOL	Suber-ASSOC	Mountain	PRT

Oh, Mount Suber.

20

ai	suber	wula-ni	khaber-kandu
哎	suber	山的	鼻子里
VOL	Suber	Mountain-GEN	nose-DAT

hongti-sang-ni	wugu[130]-ni	hunier	biu
闻到的是	五谷的	味道	有
smell-PERF-NOMLZR	five grains-GEN	odor	OBJ:COP

Oh, Mount Suber smells the odor of five grains with its nose.

21

ai	suber-ni	wula	yo
哎	suber	山	哟
VOL	Suber-ASSOC	Mountain	PRT

Oh, Mount Suber.

22

ai	suber	wula-ni	ama-kandu	amali-sang-ni
哎	suber	山的	嘴巴里	含的是
VOL	Suber	Mountain-GEN	mouth-DAT	hold-PERF-NOMLZR

youkhang	biu
什么	有
what	SUBJ:COP:QUEST

Oh, what does Mount Suber have in its mouth?

---

[130] The *wugu* 'five grains' refers to rice, broomcorn millet, millet, wheat, and beans, or alternatively, rice, sorghum, millet, wheat, and beans. More generally, *wugu* is used to refer to all types of grains.

23

ai	suber-ni	wula	yo
哎	suber	山	哟
VOL	Suber-ASSOC	Mountain	PRT

Oh, Mount Suber.

24

ai	suber	wula-ni	ama-kandu	amali-sang-ni
哎	suber	山的	嘴巴里	含的是
VOL	Suber	Mountain-GEN	mouth-DAT	hold-PERF-NOMLZR

shi'er	yangzi-ni	wugu	biu
十二	样子的	五谷	有
twelve	type-ASSOC	five grains	OBJ:COP

Oh, Mount Suber has twelve types of grains in its mouth.

25

Ai	suber-ni	wula	yo
哎	suber	山	哟
VOL	Suber-ASSOC	Mountain	PRT

Oh, Mount Suber.

26

ai	suber	wula-ni	guji-kandu	gujili-sang-ni
哎	suber	山的	脖子上	戴的是
VOL	Suber	Mountain-GEN	neck-DAT	wear-PERF-NOMLZR

youkhang	biu
什么	有
what	SUBJ:COP:QUEST

Oh, what does Mount Suber wear around its neck?

27

ai	suber-ni	wula	yo
哎	suber	山	哟
VOL	Suber-ASSOC	Mountain	PRT

Oh, Mount Suber.

28

ai	suber	wula-ni	guji-kandu	gujili-sang-ni
哎	suber	山的	脖子上	戴的是
VOL	Suber	Mountain-GEN	neck-DAT	wear-PERF-NOMLZR

zandan-ni	mani	biu
栴檀的	佛珠	有
sandalwood-GEN	prayer beads	OBJ:COP

Oh, Mount Suber wears sandalwood prayer beads around its neck.

29

ai	suber-ni	wula	yo
哎	suber	山	哟
VOL	Suber-ASSOC	Mountain	PRT

Oh, Mount Suber.

30

ai	suber	wula-ni	serghai	dalu-kandu
哎	suber	山的	左边	肩膀上
VOL	Suber	Mountain-GEN	left	shoulder-DAT

daluli-sang-ni	youkhang	biu
扛的是	什么	有
carry-PERF-NOMLZR	what	SUBJ:COP:QUEST

Oh, what does Mount Suber carry on its left shoulder?

31

ai	suber-ni	wula	yo
哎	suber	山	哟
VOL	Suber-ASSOC	Mountain	PRT

Oh, Mount Suber.

32

ai	suber	wula-ni	serghai	dalu-kandu
哎	suber	山的	左边	肩膀上
VOL	Suber	Mountain-GEN	left	shoulder-DAT

daluli-sang-ni	beidou-ni	qixing
扛的是	北斗的	七星
carry-PERF-NOMLZR	the Northern Dipper-GEN	seven stars

biu
有
OBJ:COP

Oh, Mount Suber carries the Northern Dipper's (the Big Dipper) seven stars on its left shoulder.

33

ai	suber-ni	wula	yo
哎	suber	山	哟
VOL	Suber-ASSOC	Mountain	PRT

Oh, Mount Suber.

34

ai	suber	wula-ni	barang	dalu-kandu
哎	suber	山的	右边	肩膀上
VOL	Suber	Mountain-GEN	right	shoulder-DAT

daluli-sang-ni	youkhang	biu
扛的是	什么	有
carry-PERF-NOMLZR	what	SUBJ:COP:QUEST

Oh, what does Mount Suber carry on its right shoulder?

35

ai	suber-ni	wula	yo
哎	suber	山	哟
VOL	Suber-ASSOC	Mountain	PRT

Oh, Mount Suber.

36

ai	suber	wula-ni	barang	dalu-kandu
哎	suber	山的	右边	肩膀上
VOL	Suber	Mountain-GEN	right	shoulder-DAT

daluli-sang-ni	nandou-ni	liulang
扛的是	南斗的	六郎星
carry-PERF-NOMLZR	the Southern Dipper-GEN	six stars

biu
有
OBJ:COP

Oh, Mount Suber carries the Southern Dipper's six stars on its right shoulder.

37

ai	suber-ni	wula	yo
哎	suber	山	哟
VOL	Suber-ASSOC	Mountain	PRT

Oh, Mount Suber.

38

ai	suber	wula-ni	nuru-kandu
哎	suber	山的	背上
VOL	Suber	Mountain-GEN	back-DAT

nuruli-sang-ni	youkhang	biu
背的是	什么	有
carry-PERF-NOMLZR	what	SUBJ:COP:QUEST

Oh, what does Mount Suber carry on its back?

39

ai	suber-ni	wula	yo
哎	suber	山	哟
VOL	Suber-ASSOC	Mountain	PRT

Oh, Mount Suber.

40

ai	suber	wula-ni	nuru-kandu
哎	suber	山的	背上
VOL	Suber	Mountain-GEN	back-DAT

nuruli-sang-ni	khaleng-ni	nara	biu
背的是	温暖的	太阳	有
carry-PERF-NOMLZR	warm-ASSOC	sun	OBJ:COP

Oh, Mount Suber carries the warm sun on its back.

41

ai	suber-ni	wula	yo
哎	suber	山	哟
VOL	Suber-ASSOC	Mountain	PRT

Oh, Mount Suber.

42

ai	suber	wula-ni	erber-kandu
哎	suber	山的	怀里
VOL	Suber	Mountain-GEN	embrace-DAT

erberli-sang-ni	youkhang	biu
抱的是	什么	有
hold-PERF-NOMLZR	what	SUBJ:COP:QUEST

Oh, what does Mount Suber hold in its embrace?

43

ai	suber-ni	wula	yo
哎	suber	山	哟
VOL	Suber-ASSOC	Mountain	PRT

Oh, Mount Suber.

44

ai	suber	wula-ni	erber-kandu
哎	suber	山的	怀里
VOL	Suber	Mountain-GEN	embrace-DAT

erberli-sang-ni	geigan-ni	sara	biu
抱的是	明亮的	月亮	有
hold-PERF-NOMLZR	bright-ASSOC	moon	OBJ:COP

Oh, Mount Suber holds the bright moon in its embrace.

45

ai	suber-ni	wula	yo
哎	suber	山	哟
VOL	Suber-ASSOC	Mountain	PRT

Oh, Mount Suber.

46

ai	suber	wula-ni	serghai	gher-kandu
哎	suber	山的	左边	手里
VOL	Suber	Mountain-GEN	left	hand-DAT

bari-sang-ni	youkhang	biu
拿的是	什么	有
hold-PERF-NOMLZR	what	SUBJ:COP:QUEST

Oh, what does Mount Suber hold in its left hand?

47

ai	suber-ni	wula	yo
哎	suber	山	哟
VOL	Suber-ASSOC	Mountain	PRT

Oh, Mount Suber.

48

ai	suber	wula-ni	serghai	gher-kandu
哎	suber	山的	左边	手里
VOL	Suber	Mountain-GEN	left	hand-DAT

bari-sang-ni	shi'er	yangzi-ni
拿的是	十二	样子的
hold-PERF-NOMLZR	twelve	kind-ASSOC

xianshu	biu
圣贤书	有
books written by sages	OBJ:COP

Oh, Mount Suber holds twelve kinds of books written by sages in its left hand.

49

ai	suber-ni	wula	yo
哎	suber	山	哟
VOL	Suber-ASSOC	Mountain	PRT

Oh, Mount Suber.

50

ai	suber	wula-ni	barang	gher-kandu
哎	suber	山的	右边	手里
VOL	Suber	Mountain-GEN	right	hand-DAT

bari-sang-ni	youkhang	biu
拿的是	什么	有
hold-PERF-NOMLZR	what	SUBJ:COP:QUEST

Oh, what does Mount Suber hold in its right hand?

51

ai	suber-ni	wula	yo
哎	suber	山	哟
VOL	Suber-ASSOC	Mountain	PRT

Oh, Mount Suber.

52

ai	suber	wula-ni	barang	gher-kandu
哎	suber	山的	右边	手里
VOL	Suber	Mountain-GEN	right	hand-DAT

bari-sang-ni	shang'huo-ni	yantai	biu
拿的是	毛笔	砚台	有
hold-PERF-NOMLZR	writing brush-GEN	ink stone	OBJ:COP

Oh, Mount Suber holds a writing brush and an ink stone in its right hand.

53

ai	suber-ni	wula	yo
哎	suber	山	哟
VOL	Suber-ASSOC	Mountain	PRT

Oh, Mount Suber.

54

ai	suber	wula-ni	boduo-kandu
哎	suber	山的	膝盖下
VOL	Suber	Mountain-GEN	knee-DAT

boduoli-sang-ni	youkhang	biu
跪着的是	什么	有
kneel-PERF-NOMLZR	what	SUBJ:COP:QUEST

Oh, what does Mount Suber kneel on under its knees?

55

ai	suber-ni	wula	yo
哎	suber	山	哟
VOL	Suber-ASSOC	Mountain	PRT

Oh, Mount Suber.

56

ai	suber	wula-ni	boduo-kandu
哎	suber	山的	膝盖下
VOL	Suber	Mountain-GEN	knee-DAT

boduoli-sang-ni	miangu-ni	erqighe	biu
跪着的是	银制的	膝盖骨	有
kneel-PERF-NOMLZR	silver-GEN	kneecap	OBJ:COP

Oh, Mount Suber kneels on its silver kneecaps.

57

ai	suber-ni	wula	yo
哎	suber	山	哟
VOL	Suber-ASSOC	Mountain	PRT

Oh, Mount Suber.

58

ai	suber	wula-ni	khuer-kandu
哎	suber	山的	脚底下
VOL	Suber	Mountain-GEN	foot-DAT

kezhi-sang-ni	youkhang	biu
踩的是	什么	有
step on-PERF-NOMLZR	what	SUBJ:COP:QUEST

Oh, what does Mount Suber step on under its feet?

59

ai	suber-ni	wula	yo
哎	suber	山	哟
VOL	Suber-ASSOC	Mountain	PRT

Oh, Mount Suber.

60

ai	suber	wula-ni	khuer-kandu
哎	suber	山的	脚底下
VOL	Suber	Mountain-GEN	foot-DAT

kezhi-sang-ni	yangshi-ni	ghazher	biu
踩的是	阳世的	土地	有
step on-PERF-NOMLZR	world-GEN	land	OBJ:COP

Oh, Mount Suber steps on the world's land under its feet.

MANGGHUER
(lyrics as performed)

[1] Ai, Suberni Wula yo,
[2] Ai, Suber Wulani terghaikandu dinglasangni youkhang biu?
[3] Ai, Suberni Wula yo,
[4] Ai, Suber Wulani terghaikandu dinglasangni kuguoni tiangere biu.
[5] Ai, Suberni Wula yo,
[6] Ai, Suber Wulani manlaikandu manlailisangni youkhang biu?
[7] Ai, Suberni Wula yo,
[8] Ai, Suber Wulani manlaikandu manlailisangni wulanni perghang biu.
[9] Ai, Suberni Wula yo,
[10] Ai, Suber Wulani nudukandu nudulisangni youkhang biu?
[11] Ai, Suberni Wula yo,
[12] Ai, Suber Wulani nudukandu nudulisangni yangshini geigan biu.
[13] Ai, Suberni Wula yo,
[14] Ai, Suber Wulani qigekandu suonuosisangni youkhang biu?
[15] Ai, Suberni Wula yo,
[16] Ai, Suber Wulani qigekandu suonuosisangni yangshini shengyin biu.
[17] Ai, Suberni Wula yo,
[18] Ai, Suber Wulani khaberkandu hongtisangni youkhang biu?
[19] Ai, Suberni Wula yo,
[20] Ai, Suber Wulani khaberkandu hongtisangni wuguni hunier biu.

[21] Ai, Suberni Wula yo,
[22] Ai, Suber Wulani amakandu amalisangni youkhang biu?
[23] Ai, Suberni Wula yo,
[24] Ai, Suber Wulani amakandu amalisangni shi'er yangzini wugu biu.
[25] Ai, Suberni Wula yo,
[26] Ai, Suber Wulani gujikandu gujilisangni youkhang biu?
[27] Ai, Suberni Wula yo,
[28] Ai, Suber Wulani gujikandu gujilisangni zandanni mani biu.
[29] Ai, Suberni Wula yo,
[30] Ai, Suber Wulani serghai dalukandu dalulisangni youkhang biu?
[31] Ai, Suberni Wula yo,
[32] Ai, Suber Wulani serghai dalukandu dalulisangni Beidouni qixing biu.
[33] Ai, Suberni Wula yo,
[34] Ai, Suber Wulani barang dalukandu dalulisangni youkhang biu?
[35] Ai, Suberni Wula yo,
[36] Ai, Suber Wulani barang dalukandu dalulisangni Nandouni liulang biu.
[37] Ai, Suberni Wula yo,
[38] Ai, Suber Wulani nurukandu nurulisangni youkhang biu?
[39] Ai, Suberni Wula yo,
[40] Ai, Suber Wulani nurukandu nurulisangni khalengni nara biu.
[41] Ai, Suberni Wula yo,
[42] Ai, Suber Wulani erberkandu erberlisangni youkhang biu?
[43] Ai, Suberni Wula yo,
[44] Ai, Suber Wulani erberkandu erberlisangni geiganni sara biu.
[45] Ai, Suberni Wula yo,
[46] Ai, Suber Wulani serghai gherkandu barisangni youkhang biu?
[47] Ai, Suberni Wula yo,
[48] Ai, Suber Wulani serghai gherkandu barisangni shi'er yangzini xianshu biu.
[49] Ai, Suberni Wula yo,
[50] Ai, Suber Wulani barang gherkandu barisangni youkhang biu?
[51] Ai, Suberni Wula yo,

[52] Ai, Suber Wulani barang gherkandu barisangni shang'huoni yantai biu.
[53] Ai, Suberni Wula yo,
[54] Ai, Suber Wulani boduokandu boduolisangni youkhang biu?
[55] Ai, Suberni Wula yo,
[56] Ai, Suber Wulani boduokandu boduolisangni mianguni erqighe biu.
[57] Ai, Suberni Wula yo,
[58] Ai, Suber Wulani khuerkandu kezhisangni youkhang biu?
[59] Ai, Suberni Wula yo,
[60] Ai, Suber Wulani khuerkandu kezhisangni yangshini ghazher biu.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

[1] Oh, Mount Suber.
[2] Oh, what does Mount Suber carry on its head?
[3] Oh, Mount Suber.
[4] Oh, Mount Suber carries the blue sky on its head.
[5] Oh, Mount Suber.
[6] Oh, what does Mount Suber have on its forehead?
[7] Oh, Mount Suber.
[8] Oh, Mount Suber has numerous deities on its forehead.
[9] Oh, Mount Suber.
[10] Oh, what does Mount Suber see with its eyes?
[11] Oh, Mount Suber.
[12] Oh, Mount Suber sees the world's light with its eyes.
[13] Oh, Mount Suber.
[14] Oh, what does Mount Suber hear with its ears?
[15] Oh, Mount Suber.
[16] Oh, Mount Suber hears the world's sound with its ears.
[17] Oh, Mount Suber.
[18] Oh, what does Mount Suber smell with its nose?
[19] Oh, Mount Suber.
[20] Oh, Mount Suber smells the odor of five grains with its nose.
[21] Oh, Mount Suber.
[22] Oh, what does Mount Suber have in its mouth?

[23] Oh, Mount Suber.
[24] Oh, Mount Suber has twelve types of grains in its mouth.
[25] Oh, Mount Suber.
[26] Oh, what does Mount Suber wear around its neck?
[27] Oh, Mount Suber.
[28] Oh, Mount Suber wears sandalwood prayer beads around its neck.
[29] Oh, Mount Suber.
[30] Oh, what does Mount Suber carry on its left shoulder?
[31] Oh, Mount Suber.
[32] Oh, Mount Suber carries the Northern Dipper's (the Big Dipper) seven stars on its left shoulder.
[33] Oh, Mount Suber.
[34] Oh, what does Mount Suber carry on its right shoulder?
[35] Oh, Mount Suber.
[36] Oh, Mount Suber carries the Southern Dipper's six stars on its right shoulder.
[37] Oh, Mount Suber.
[38] Oh, what does Mount Suber carry on its back?
[39] Oh, Mount Suber.
[40] Oh, Mount Suber carries the warm sun on its back.
[41] Oh, Mount Suber.
[42] Oh, what does Mount Suber hold in its embrace?
[43] Oh, Mount Suber.
[44] Oh, Mount Suber holds the bright moon in its embrace.
[45] Oh, Mount Suber.
[46] Oh, what does Mount Suber hold in its left hand?
[47] Oh, Mount Suber.
[48] Oh, Mount Suber holds twelve kinds of books written by sages in its left hand.
[49] Oh, Mount Suber.
[50] Oh, what does Mount Suber hold in its right hand?
[51] Oh, Mount Suber.
[52] Oh, Mount Suber holds a writing brush and an ink stone in its right hand.
[53] Oh, Mount Suber.
[54] Oh, what does Mount Suber kneel on under its knees?

55 Oh, Mount Suber.
56 Oh, Mount Suber kneels on its silver kneecaps.
57 Oh, Mount Suber.
58 Oh, what does Mount Suber step on under its feet?
59 Oh, Mount Suber.
60 Oh, Mount Suber steps on the world's land under its feet.

MSC TRANSLATION

1 哎，Suber 山哟，
2 Suber 山的头上顶的是什么？
3 哎，Suber 山哟，
4 Suber 山的头上顶的是蔚蓝的天空。
5 哎，Suber 山哟，
6 Suber 山的额头上顶的是什么？
7 哎，Suber 山哟，
8 Suber 山的额头上顶的是众多的神佛。
9 哎，Suber 山哟，
10 Suber 山的眼睛里看见的是什么？
11 哎，Suber 山哟，
12 Suber 山的眼睛里看见的是世间的光明。
13 哎，Suber 山哟，
14 Suber 山的耳朵里听见的是什么？
15 哎，Suber 山哟，
16 Suber 山的耳朵里听见的是世间的声音。
17 哎，Suber 山哟，
18 Suber 山的鼻子里闻见的是什么？
19 哎，Suber 山哟，
20 Suber 山的鼻子里闻见的是五谷的香气。
21 哎，Suber 山哟，
22 Suber 山的嘴巴里含的是什么？
23 哎，Suber 山哟，
24 Suber 山的嘴巴里含的是十二种粮食。
25 哎，Suber 山哟，
26 Suber 山的脖子上戴的是什么？
27 哎，Suber 山哟，
28 Suber 山的脖子上戴的是栴檀木的佛珠。

[29] 哎，Suber 山哟，
[30] Suber 山的左肩上扛的是什么？
[31] 哎，Suber 山哟，
[32] Suber 山的左肩上扛的是北斗七星。
[33] 哎，Suber 山哟，
[34] Suber 山的右肩上扛的是什么？
[35] 哎，Suber 山哟，
[36] Suber 山的右肩上扛的是南斗六郎。
[37] 哎，Suber 山哟，
[38] Suber 山的后背上扛的是什么？
[39] 哎，Suber 山哟，
[40] Suber 山的后背上扛的是温暖的太阳。
[41] 哎，Suber 山哟，
[42] Suber 山的怀里抱的是什么？
[43] 哎，Suber 山哟，
[44] Suber 山的怀里抱的是皎洁的月亮。
[45] 哎，Suber 山哟，
[46] Suber 山的左手上拿的是什么？
[47] 哎，Suber 山哟，
[48] Suber 山的左手上拿的十二种圣贤之书。
[49] 哎，Suber 山哟，
[50] Suber 山的右手上拿的是什么？
[51] 哎，Suber 山哟，
[52] Suber 山的右手上拿的是毛笔和砚台。
[53] 哎，Suber 山哟，
[54] Suber 山的膝盖跪在什么上面？
[55] 哎，Suber 山哟，
[56] Suber 山跪在它银制的膝盖骨上。
[57] 哎，Suber 山哟，
[58] Suber 山的脚底下踩着的是什么？
[59] 哎，Suber 山哟，
[60] Suber 山的脚底下踩着的是世间的大地。

CONCLUSION

To better contextualize the language of Mangghuer bridal lamentations and wedding songs, more than half of this book is devoted to a detailed introduction to the Sanchuan region, the Mangghuer, and traditional Mangghuer wedding practices, where these lamentations and songs existed. This background information includes the geographical location of Sanchuan, its traditional regional divisions, and the distribution of natural Mangghuer villages in the plain areas of Shangchuan, Zhongchuan, and Hachuan (or Xiachuan); the population, means of livelihood, language, and religious beliefs of the Mangghuer; traditional Mangghuer marriage patterns; the requirements for a typical Mangghuer bride; and the various rituals involved in traditional Mangghuer wedding ceremonies.

The traditional Mangghuer bride, as a central figure in the wedding and the performer of bridal lamentations, is described in detail. This includes an evaluation of her appearance, the size of her bound feet, her skills in cooking, cleaning, sewing, and performing lamentations, as well as her behavior during the wedding. A bride's preparations prior to the wedding, such as learning sewing skills and practicing the lamentation performance, are discussed. Her dowry items, including painted wooden chests and *kangkui* received from her parents, as well as the embroidery items she prepared, are explored. Furthermore, the bride's tasks during the wedding, such as performing lamentations and participating in rituals like *shangma*, *xiama*, *baitang*, *qingdao di*, *shidaomian*, and *zhuer huoluogha*, are highlighted.

Changes in these traditions over the past few decades are also examined, with an analysis of the underlying causes of these changes.

The language features of bridal lamentations and wedding songs are explained separately. A list of non-daily vocabulary and expressions in the bridal lamentations and wedding songs are analyzed and explained with examples, including noteworthy terms and unusual vocabulary, and are

explained with relevant examples. In addition, each performer is briefly introduced, including performance locations and scenes during performances.

Lyrics of four bridal lamentations and three wedding songs are glossed as sung in Chinese and English, and lyrics in Mangghuer or the local Chinese dialect and translations in English and MSC are provided.

In summary, the specific details in this book position it in the field of Qinghai wedding studies. Further study would inform a comparison of the differences and similarities among Qinghai weddings. Some possible connections between Mangghuer and Qinghai Tibetan weddings are suggested in the following sources: 'Jam dpal rnam 'joms' (2009) collection of wedding songs and speeches in Sum mdo Tibetan Autonomous Township, Dgon lung rdzong (Huzhu) Tu (Mongghul) Autonomous County, Haidong Region; Nyangchakja (2016); Bkra shis rgya mtsho (2023); Thurston (2019); Tshe dbang rdo rje et *al.* (2010); and Blo brtan rdo rje and Stuart (2008).

The nearby Salar weddings (Ma et *al.* 1999) are also valuable for comparative study, e.g., before leaving her natal home for the groom's home, a Salar bride scattered wheat on the ground outside the gate, symbolizing a prosperous harvest for her parents. Similarly, a Mangghuer bride scattered grain in the direction of her parents' home upon reaching the groom's gate. When standing or sitting on the heated sleeping/eating platform in the groom's home, both Salar and Mangghuer brides faced a corner. Additionally, before departing their parents' home, Salar and Mangghuer brides performed bridal lamentations and blessings for their family.

Weddings among various Tu (Monguor) groups in Qinghai and Gansu are a fertile field for comparative study, e.g., see Zhu et *al.* (1999) for a Huzhu Mongghul wedding, as do Qinghai Mongolian and local Qinghai Han weddings.

Unlike bridal lamentations, which had nearly disappeared by 2024, wedding songs were still performed at weddings occasionally. However, due to changes in the overall environment, such as the shift of wedding venues from village

homes to *shengtai yuan*, and the younger generation's lack of emphasis on traditional culture, wedding songs seemed likely to disappear.

By 2024, only a few weddings were still held at village homes. Even in these so-called "traditional" village weddings, many traditional rituals had been transformed or replaced by new practices and forms. For instance, in some cases, four young male singers stood outside the groom's parents' main room and sang modern Chinese songs to the guests. While the songs were not traditional wedding songs, the performance format followed traditional customs.

Global influences accessible via social media, the ubiquity of State education in the Chinese language, electronic products, growth in interactions with areas outside Sanchuan, and the growing presence and attraction of non-Mangghuer languages and cultures are all contributing to the increased speed of the rate of loss of Mangghuer language and cultural traditions. Meanwhile, religious beliefs, self- and community-identities, and living modes are rapidly changing, especially since the early twenty-first century.

Even though a small percentage of Mangghuer maintain that their language and traditions are precious cultural heritage, the overwhelming majority of Mangghuer believe the Mangghuer language has no practical value in improving their quality of life, and to the extent that excellent Mangghuer language skills may signal a lack of fluency in Chinese, even see it as an impediment to future study and employment. The formation of this ideology stems from the fact that most Mangghuer born in the 1970s to 1990s faced various difficulties in studying or seeking employment outside of Sanchuan due to language barriers resulting from their inability to speak fluent Chinese. Few Mangghuer who were born before 1970 left Sanchuan to make money. Even when they did, their illiteracy usually meant they followed local contractors to perform basic manual labor at construction sites, where language barriers had little impact on their work opportunities.

Consequently, most Mangghuer parents did not place importance on their children's ability to speak fluent Mangghuer. Instead, they took pride in their children's fluency in standard Chinese. Those who worked and lived outside Mangghuer areas rarely encouraged their children to learn Mangghuer. As a result, Mangghuer born after 2000 typically spoke fluent Chinese, but their ability to communicate in Mangghuer was so limited that they often relied on Chinese vocabulary when speaking with their grandparents, and many were unable to communicate with elders in Mangghuer at all.

In recent years, in response to the national policy of protecting intangible cultural heritage, the local government has selected a group of inheritors of Mangghuer language and culture and implemented a series of preservation projects.[131] These include translating Chinese movies and children's cartoons into Mangghuer with Mangghuer dubbing, establishing associations for Mangghuer folk songs, embroidery, and the Nadun Festival, inviting locals to perform traditional wedding and producing video recordings,[132] organizing students to perform Mangghuer Nadun dances at the opening ceremonies of school sports days, and hosting Nadun Art Festivals and wedding song competitions.

However, these measures have had little effect in reversing the rapid decline of Mangghuer language and cultural traditions. The number of people speaking the Mangghuer language and participating in traditional festivals and rituals continued to decrease sharply each year. Some preservation initiatives even had the opposite effect. For instance, the local government frequently organized villagers and paid them to perform Nadun dances for government officials and tourists at government-sponsored events such as the Nadun Art Festivals (a newly invented tradition initiated in 2004) and the opening

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[131] https://www.minhe.gov.cn/html/431/336091.html, accessed 8 December 2024.

[132] A six-DVD set of Mangghuer traditional wedding videos produced by the Minhe Hui and Tu Autonomous County Cultural Center in 2014 (Sanchuan tuzu hunli ge bianweihui, 2014).

ceremonies of various cultural exchange, tourism, and commercial events, all with the purpose of promoting Mangghuer culture. Traditionally, Nadun dances were performed on fixed dates each year to express gratitude to local deities for protecting the villagers and ensuring good harvests. These performances carried strong religious significance and followed strict ritual procedures. However, the Nadun performances organized by the local government outside the traditional Nadun dates and context led to more and more Mangghuer losing their sense of reverence and enthusiasm for the traditional Nadun Festivals held in villages, and some even developing a mentality of "performing for money."

At the current rate of disappearance, Mangghuer language and cultural traditions - including the bridal lamentations no longer performed in actual weddings and the rapidly vanishing wedding songs - are highly likely to be completely lost within the next few decades. Just as traditional Mangghuer costumes and embroidery techniques now exist only in historical photographs, these cultural expressions may soon survive only in archival records. When that day comes, the Mangghuer - once a vibrant ethnic group with a living language and rich cultural traditions - may exist only as a label on an ID card, becoming a "card ethnic group."

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APPENDIX 1: CHINESE TRANSLATION OF THE PREFACE

前　言

保护和传承三川土族传统文化与语言

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本书聚焦于一个小型民族群体——三川土族，及其正在消逝的文化传统：新娘哭嫁歌与婚礼歌。该群体与若干其他族群被官方合并归类为“土族”，但是传统上他们自称为“Dani Kong”或“Dasini Kong”，意为“我们的人”。最早记录该群体语言的是俄罗斯探险家格里戈里·尼古拉耶维奇·波塔宁 (Grigorij Nikolaevich Potanin, 1835-1920 年)，其称该语言为“Shirongol”。近年来，该族群及其语言被诸多学者称为“Mangghuer”。顾名思义，三川土族所使用的语言 Mangghuer 属于蒙古语族，与蒙古国和中国内蒙古地区所使用的蒙古语有亲缘关系。

三川土族世代居住的家园在汉语中称作“三川”，意为“三条河流”或“三块平川”；而在本民族语言中则称为“Dani Ruang”(即“我们的地方”)、“Dani Wuruang”(即“我们的地方”) 或“Mani Ghazher”[133] (意为“玛尼之地”或“吉祥之地”)。该地区位于黄河上游，离蒙古地区甚远，历史上处于汉族地区和藏族安多地区的交界地带，今属中华人民共和国青海省海东市民和回族土族自治县，与甘肃省积石山县隔黄河相望。

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[133] 从词源学角度看，“Mani Ghazher”一词源自古蒙古语“mani gajar”，本义为“我们的地方”或“我们的土地”。其中，“mani”源自古蒙古语排他性代词“mani”，意为“我们的”（仅指代说话者所属群体，不包含听者）。但是在近代三川土族语中“mani”的代词功能已经完全消失，取而代之的是“dani”或“dasini”。“Dani”和“dasini”分别源自古蒙古语的包容性代词“bida-ni”和“bida-s=ni”，即“我们的”（说话者所属群体包含听者）。由于“mani”一词在三川土族语中不再被识别为代词，其语义被佛教梵语中的“mani”（即“珍宝”）所替代，从而使“Mani Ghazher”一词在现代语境中被重新理解为“玛尼之地”或“吉祥之地”。

历史资料显示，三川土族的语言先民是在元朝 (1271-1368 年) 和明朝 (1368-1644 年) 时期随蒙古军队驻守汉藏边境而迁徙至此地的。蒙古军队长期活动的汉藏交界地区语言分布极为复杂，除了多种蒙古语变体外，还存在一些稀有的突厥语变体，以及若干藏语方言和西北官话，形成了该区域的语言多样性格局，而三川土族语 Mangghuer 就是其中一部分。

在长达数个世纪的多民族共处过程中，汉藏交界地带居民，尤其是母语非藏语和非汉语的族群，长期维持着多语并用的语言格局，进而催生了词汇和语法层面的一系列区域性共享特征。这些特征构成了一种语言联盟，被称为“青甘语言联盟”(Qinghai-Gansu Sprachbund) 或“安多语言联盟”(Amdo Sprachbund)。三川土族语 Mangghuer 是该语言联盟的典型代表之一，其语言结构体现出三层复合特征：以蒙古语为核心，融合了来自藏语的次层影响，并在此基础上又叠加了本地汉语的语法特征与结构模式。

三川土族语 Mangghuer 何时、如何演变成了蒙古语的一个独立分支，已难以确证。与其最为接近的亲属语言是（或曾经是）Mongghuor。该语种于二十世纪初由比利时传教士安托万·莫斯塔尔 (Antoine Mostaert, 1881–1971 年) 及其同事阿尔贝·德·斯梅特 (Albert De Smedt, 1884–1941 年) 进行了较为系统的记录与研究。但此后，未发现任何 Mongghuor 语言的使用者，这一事实表明该语种极有可能已灭绝。

另一个与三川土族语 Mangghuer 较为接近的亲属语言是互助土族语 Mongghul，目前仍在青海省东北部的互助县一带及毗邻的甘肃省部分地区使用。尽管三川土族与互助土族在地理上相隔不远，但这段距离足以使二者之间的语言差距大至难以互通。传统上，Mangghuer、Mongghuor 和 Mongghul 这三个术语被统称为“Monguor”，与汉语中同样非常笼统的“土族语”相对应。归类为“土族语”的还有该区域其他的语言变体，其中一些其实并非蒙古语族语言。

青甘语言联盟中的所有蒙古语变体中，三川土族语 Mangghuer 是文献记载最为匮乏的一种，也是最晚被学术界发现

的。首部关于三川土族语语法描述的专著直到 2003 年由美国语言学家 Keith W. Slater 完成并出版。尽管如此，与青甘语言联盟中的其他地方性语言相比，三川土族语长期以来处于一个相对有利的语言生态环境中。首先，该语言的使用者数量相对可观，约有二至三万人在日常生活中持续使用，维系着其活跃的口头传承机制；其次，三川土族并非游牧群体，而是定居在一片地理范围较为集中、族群内部联系紧密的区域内。该区域以农村聚落为主，同时拥有一个具有城镇功能的区域性中心——官亭镇。相对稳定的农耕社会体系与较为完善的城乡结构，有效降低了该族群在历史上对外部社会的依附程度，从而减少了与外界的深度接触，在一定程度上减缓了其语言被其他语言体系融合或替代的进程。

直到大约一代人以前，三川地区的土族居民普遍以三川土族语 Mangghuer 作为日常社会交往的主要语言，在此基础上辅以教育领域使用的汉语和宗教场所使用的藏语。然而，随着以汉语为主导的主流文化通过各类媒体的持续传播，以及年轻一代三川土族人大量外流至大城市谋求发展，这一语言使用格局在短时间内发生了急剧变化。最终导致当下最年轻的一代三川土族人不仅正在丧失本民族语言，也在迅速脱离以该语言为传承基础的所有文化传统。

在此背景下，三川土族语言及文化遗产的存续危机引起了部分学者的关注。本书作者文祥呈长期致力于三川土族传统文化与语言资料的搜集、整理工作，积累了丰富翔实的田野调研素材，是当今三川土族口头文学研究领域最具活力的田野资料收集者。自 2000 年以来，他与多位国际资深语言学家、文化人类学家深度合作，先后以访问学者、留学生等身份赴多所欧美高等院校交流学习，系统掌握了语言学与文化人类学的专业理论知识与研究方法，成长为兼具国际学术视野与深厚专业素养的学者。作为三川土族语母语使用者及该族群成员，文祥呈拥有源于自身文化语境的直觉理解力，从而能够以“局内人”与专业学者的双重视角，对本民族的传统实践进行深度审视与科学分析。本书中他将研究重心放在新娘哭嫁歌与婚礼歌之上，是基于充分的文化理解与学

术判断。因为这两类独特的口头文学体裁，将民间叙事传统和民间音乐表达巧妙结合，同时与传统社会中最核心的制度之一——婚姻——密切相关，因而具有极高的文化象征性与研究价值。

在围绕这个主题的专题研究中，作者不仅呈现了若干具有代表性的田野采集原始文本样本，这些文本配有详细的语境背景说明、语言学逐词形态与词汇标注及译文，而且系统地介绍了三川土族的历史沿革、文化传统及其当下所处的社会环境，尤为关注其社会结构、亲属制度及亲属称谓体系。另外，该专著配以大量图像资料以作论证说明，其中包括若干二十世纪三十年代拍摄的珍贵历史照片。值得一提的是，作者通过走访当地老人核实照片中人物特征，并在实地对比照片所示地理景观等多重证据，首次对这些照片进行了综合鉴定，确认其所记录的是三川土族群体，为相关研究提供了重要的视觉和史料佐证。

三川土族作为一个民族群体，即便在甘青地区的多元文化背景中，依然是文化高度融合的罕见典型。其文化的高度杂糅性与该族群语言的复杂历史密切相关。正如文祥呈所列，构成土族精神文化遗产的信仰体系多达八种，其中部分信仰体系之间还存在内在关联。这八种信仰体系分别为：万物有灵论、萨满信仰、祖先崇拜、中国民间信仰、道教、藏传佛教、汉传佛教，以及基督教。这些信仰传统在漫长的历史进程中相互交织、层层叠加，共同塑造了三川土族独特而复杂的宗教与精神世界。

三川土族的某些传统习俗，如夏季举行的“纳顿”节(Nadun，源自古蒙古语“naadum”)，可追溯至早期的蒙古文化。而诸如曾经在三川地区广泛流行的女性缠足等习俗，则反映了三川土族与汉族文化的深层交融。缠足习俗是三川土族区别于所有其他使用蒙古语的族群的一个重要特征。由此可以推测，三川土人与当地汉人在历史上存在长期的通婚现象，甚至不排除三川土人在蒙古统治以前原本就是汉人的可能性。因此，部分三川土族婚礼歌使用当地汉语方言演唱也就不足为奇了。此外，一些婚礼歌融入了大量汉语词汇，但其语法标记和句子结构仍保留着三川土族语的特征。

这部专著的一大突出特色在于其采用了跨学科的研究路径。文祥呈在分析所收录的文本材料时，不仅从民俗学、诗歌学及文学价值的角度进行了呈现和剖析，而且充分结合了该材料最初使用时所依托的相关历史背景、文化环境及社会因素，从而使文本的解读建立在更为全面与深层的背景之上，体现出对语言材料社会嵌入性的高度重视。同时，作者对文本所做的精准的语音标注与语法分析具有特别重要的学术价值。值得一提的是，三川土族语的语音系统在一定程度上与当地汉语方言的语音模式存在相似性，这为基于汉语拼音方案开发出一套实用的三川土族语书写系统奠定了基础。尽管这一书写系统并非严格意义上的音位文字，但它以巧妙的方式真实有效地反映了三川土族语的音系特征，已被广泛应用于此前几乎所有包含三川土族语资料的出版物中。同时，这一书写方式也使得三川土族语在书写形式上与文本中频繁交替使用的地方汉语实现了形式上的兼容，为多语并用的文本呈现提供了有效的技术支撑。然而，需要强调的是，这一书写系统不应被简单地视为对语言的直接表征，因为它与该语言的音段结构与实际发音之间仅存在间接对应关系。该体系中所用的字母在某些情况下所代表的音值，与普通话中相应字母的读音存在显著差异。

作为一部新的语言材料来源，本书极大地丰富了以往关于三川土族语的语料数据库。尤为值得关注的是，作者对词汇资源代际演变的观察与分析：出生于二十世纪初、目前最年长的一代三川土族人在某些语境中仍保留着一些古蒙古语词汇，而这些词汇在二十世纪中期出生的三川土族人使用的语言中已不复存在。在二十世纪末出生的三川土族人中，本族原始词汇被汉语借词所取代的现象则更加显著。例如，表示“老鼠”的旧词 kherghana (源自古蒙古语 kulugana) 在二十世纪中期出生的三川土族人的语言中已被当地汉语 laochu 取代，仅在谈及属相时仍使用 kherghana 这个词。而表示“老虎”的旧词 bersi (源自古蒙古语 bars) 则直到二十世纪末出生的那一代三川土族人中才被汉语词汇“老虎”所替代。

同样值得关注的一个现象是，一些原本为双音节的词根在传统歌曲中仍保留其原始形态，然而在日常口语中，这些词根已失去首音节。比如，动词“yiri”(即“来”，源自古蒙古语“ire-”)在口语中简化为“ri”，否定词“wulai”(即“不”，源自古蒙古语“ülü”)则简化为“lai”。

事实上，真正导致语言消亡的，并非语言变化 (language change)，而是语言转移 (language shift)。从邻近语言中借用词汇和语法模式，在三川土族语的近代发展史中发挥了极为显著的作用。正是由于这些外来因素的影响，该语言才得以保存下来，并且演化成了如今这种极具独特性的语言形式。然而，当三川土族语的使用者转向使用其他语言（通常是各种形式的汉语），并中断该语言的代际传承时，语言消亡的风险便随之而来。根据文祥呈的调查资料，这一语言转移现象当下正在发生。若 2000 年以后出生的年轻一代三川土族人中，大部分已丧失对母语的熟练掌握能力，那么一个令人遗憾的结论是：三川土族语使用者的总数可能会在短短二十年内减少一半。这意味着，具备三川土族语传承能力（即熟练掌握该语言）的年轻人数量正在急剧减少，其持续传承将面临严峻挑战。

语言消亡是全球化背景下的一种普遍现象，其发生与全球化各个层面的发展息息相关。尽管全世界范围内许多语言已处于不可挽回的灭绝边缘，但只要一种语言仍有各个年龄段的活跃使用者，其衰亡进程仍有可能被遏止。三川土族语正处于这样一个临界点。随着文化的演变，部分语言体裁因其使用功能的丧失而逐步走向消亡，正如本书所探讨的哭嫁歌与婚礼歌，已出现这一趋势。其实，社会与经济现代化进程并不必然导致语言的消亡。只要该语言在某些使用领域仍保持活力，并尽可能在一些地方性语境中继续存在，它就有可能得以延续。

三川地区仍有可能为三川土族语 Mangghuer 提供一个本地社会语境，使其不仅在家庭内部得以延续，也能在社区层面维持潜在的生存空间。当然，这一过程有赖于更多像文祥呈这样的语言保护者和专业人士的积极参与，以及整个语言共同体的协同努力。

归根结底，三川土族语能否作为一门活态语言延续下去，抑或沦为仅存于研究文献中的“僵尸”语言，其最终命运仍掌握在三川土族人民自己手中。

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APPENDIX 2: SANCHUAN TU TRANSLATION OF THE PREFACE[134]

Mieshiku Wuge

Sanchuan Tuzuni Wuge ma Kuichengnang Bao Mershida

Juha Janhunen
Eluosi Guojiani Wuge Yanjiu Geku Wuruang,
Eluosini Shengbidebao Bazer

Ni yiben shudi zhurusangni shi Sanchuan Tuzu daodaku yige mula minzuni aguer dahulaku aihou yila ma bieri he kongdu daolaku dao bang. Ni kuichengsi niebie mermerjia guidaji xilang. Sanchuan Tuzu ma han guori jige minzusini yigua huoluo Tuzu daodalang, danshi Sanchuan wuruangni Tuminsi gansi jiesinang "Dani Kong", "Dasini Kong" ninggeji daolalang. Zui mieshi ni wuruangni wugeni zhuruji jilaji gesang kong shi Eluosi guojiani Geligeli Nigulayeweiqi Botaning (Grigorij Nikolaevich Potanin, 1835-1920) bang. Gan ni wuruangku wugeni Shirongol daodalang. Khuainuoshi shuguo pujigheqisi Sanchuan Tuzusi keliku wugeni Mangghuer daodajiang. Ni nierela wujiku Sanchuan Tuzusi keliku wuge ni Mangghuer Guojia ma Neimengguni Mangghuer kongsi keliku wugela guanxitai bang.

Ningku Tuzu kongsi saosang wuruangni Qidaila Sanchuan daodalang. Qidaila keliku Sanchuan shi sange moran, sange chuandaoni yisi bang. Sanchuan Tuminsi jieni wuruangnang "Sanchuan"sa guori han "Dani Ruang", "Dani Wuruang", "Mani Ghazher"[135] ninggeji daodalang. Sanchuan

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[134] In the Sanchuan Tu language, "Mangghuer" denotes "Mongols." Therefore, in the Sanchuan Tu translation of this preface, the term "Mangghuer" refers to Mongols rather than the Sanchuan Tu people. In the rest of this book, however, the term "Mangghuer" follows the convention used in academic research, where it refers to the Sanchuan Tu ethnic group.

[135] Wugeni gerberla keliku, "Mani Ghazher" nige niere shi tiedongku Mangghuer wuge "mani gajar"sa risangni bang, yisi shi "dasini wuruang ", "dasini ghazher" bang. Tiedongku Mangghuer wugeni

wuruang Moranni zhagha beida bang, zheng Mangghuer kongsi saosang wuruangsa hudu khuoluo bang. Tiedongku xianrensini bianla keliku ni shi Qidai wuruang ma Tiebie wuruangni jiaojie bang. Niebiela keliku ni shi Zhongguoni Qing'hai Sheng Minhe Xianni wuruang bang, Moransa duoruo beida Gansu Shengni wuruang bang.

Tiedongdu liulaji gesang pujighe zhurusangni shi Sanchuan Tuminni wugeni genzi shi tiedongdu Yuanchao (1271-1368) shijie ma Mingchao (1368-1644) shijiedu ni wuruangni bakela risang Mangghuer bingsi daila rijiang gelang. Mangghuer bing saoji wudasang wuruangsiku wugesi khuainuo bianli wulantujiang. Hao jizhong Mangghuerla guanxitai wugesa guorini, han hao jizhong Tiebie wuge, Qidai wuge, wulan lai qigeku saotuer wuge ninggeji bang. Sanchuan Tuhua yeshi khuainuo bianliji risang ni yixier wuge jiuraku yizhong bang.

Qidai wuruang ma Tiebie wuruangni jiaojieku kongsi jibei nian hangtu panluerdu saoku yijia yijiani wugeni a suer gejiang, ningku jieni wugenang a kelilang, guori minzuni wugeni a kelilang. Guori wugesidu yangyangni yaji daodaku niere ma keliku fangfasini a jieni wugedunang huoluo jiarijiang. Sanchuan Tuhua yeshi ge yangzi wugeni huoluo jiarisang yizhong wuge bang. Sanchuan Tuhuani genzi shi Mangghuer wuge bang, jiurani Tiebie wuge diger jialajiang, keliku fangfadu puza kherghaku Qidaisi keliku fangfani diger jialajiang.

"mani" shi "dasini" ninggesang yisi bang. Mangghuer wugeku "mani"du keliqing kongni ningbeidakusi huoluolang, chengliqing kongsi huoluola wuguang. Khuainuoshi Sanchuan Tuhuadu "mani"ni yuanlaiku yisini sanggha gejiang, zhuguer "dani" ma "dasini" jiari saojiang. "Dani" ma "dasini" shi tiedongku Mangghuer wuge "bida-ni" ma "bida-s=ni"sa risangni bang. Mangghuer wugeku "bida-ni" ma "bida-s=ni"du keliqing kong ma chengliqing kongsi yigua huoluo rilang. Sanchuan Tuhuadu "mani"ni tiedongku yisini sanggha geku, khuainuoshi "Mani Ghazher"ku "mani"ni yisini Fojiaoku "mani"ni yisi ghula keli xighajiang. Fojiaodu "mani" shi "guizhen shuru"ni yisi bang. Ningku laohan ninggersi kelikuni "Mani Ghazher" shi "biyangtai wuruang", "wulan perghang zhaokan geji saosang wuruang"ni yisi bang ninggeji.

Sanchuan Tuhua keji jiura Mangghuer wugesa khejia ri guori wuge yizhong ber saoji, yageji berji, nisini zai kan a meidiekuni guang. Sanchuan Tuhuala zui wulan xideraku yizhong wugeni Mongghuor gelang. Mongghuor gesang ni wugeni yibei duo nian yiqiandu Bilishi guojiani Yesujiao chuanlila risang kong Antuowan Mosita'er (Antoine Mostaert, 1881–1971) ma ganni hangtu gongzuo geku nukuer A'erbei De Simeite (Albert De Smedt, 1884–1941) ghuerluo xiangxida jilaji ma yanjiu gejiang. Danshi tingsa khuainuo ni Mongghuor wugeni keliqing kong daige qigela guang, ni yizhong wuge keneng yijing guida yaojiang.

Sanchuan Tuhuala xideraku han yizhong wuge shi Mongghul bang. Ni wugeni niebie Qing'hai Sheng Huzhu Xianni Tumin ma kherghaku Gansu Shengni youxier wuruangku Tuminsi han kelilang. Sanchuan Tumin ma Huzhu Tuminsi saosang wuruang khejiasangni lihu khuoluo guang, danshi ningda diger khuoluo bisa a gansi yijia yijiani wugenang dongla dalang. Sanchuan Tuhua, Mongghuor wuge, Huzhu Tuhua nisini zongdi "Monguor" daodalang, Qidaila zongdi "Tuyu" daodalang. Tuyudu huala xighasangni han guorimianku wuge a bang, danshi ni jiura youxier wuge Mangghuer wugela yang guanxi a guang.

Qidai wuruang ma Tiebie wuruangni jiaojieku ni Mangghuer wugela guanxitai gezhong wuge jiura Sanchuan Tuhua shi pujighela jilaji gesangni zui chuang yizhong wuge bang, pujigheqisi ni wugeni yanjiu geji bosisang shijie ye zui wudajiang. Sanchuan Tuhuani keliku fangfani zui mieshi shu zhurusang kong shi Meiguoni wuge yanjiu geqing kong Keith W. Slater bang. Gan ni shunang mieshige khuoni huangdu (2003 nian) zhuruji gherghaji chuban gejiang. Qidai ma Tiebie wuruangni jiaojieku guori wugesila bilaku, Sanchuan Tuhuani yizhi liula baori keli saosang yuanyin shi Sanchuanni niker wuruang shuguo tuzalajiang. Yige shi ni wuruangdu Tuhua keliqing kong kelila xiku wulanher bang. Dagai liangwan dao sanwan kong ni wugeni jiaoduer keli saojiang. Zai yige shi Sanchuan Tuminsi man tianxia yaoji asi danglaku minzu puzhang, gansi yizhi yige wuruangdunang ghazhershila

saojiang, ningku gansini wugenang sangghasang guang. Ni wuruangku zhuangjiaqisi saokuni shi jianjianni yimeghe bang, yimeghe yimeghe jiuradu han gezhong guanxitai bang. Gaishang shi Sanchuanku yige mula bazer bang, Qidaila Guanting Zhen daolalang. Zhuangjiaqisi suchangdu jieni yimeghedunang zhuoboji duer nuoqilang, yang duerku Gaishang xilang. Dikuni jiarikuni jieni wuruangsa riku tiedongsa gansi Sanchuansa ghadaku wuruangni wulan kaolasang guang, ghadaku kongla jiaoran chuang gejiang, ningku ghadaku wuge Sanchuan Tuhuani yingxiang gesangni ye chuang bang.

Shang yibeisa mieshiku Sanchuan Tuminsi jiaoduer keliku wuge shi yigua Tuhua bang. Xuedu xiji shu mushikusi Qidai pujighe suerlang, ximianku lamasi lan suerku Tiebie pujighe suerlang. Khuainuoshi ni xuedu xiqing wulantu, dianshi naoku shouji jiarikusi wulantu, nasi mula kongsi ghada gherji qier zhenglala xikuni wulantu ninggeku, dajia jiariku wuge a daiguo bianli yaojiang. Niebieku nasi zui mula ni yidai Sanchuan Tumin jieni wugenang gezai keliji naghu dalang, jieni wuruangku kuichengnang a zhangzeng meidie dalang.

Ni wuruangku wuge ma kuichengsi diger digerge guida yaoku youxier pujigheqisi nini sanerdunang baoghaji mulaji bosijiang. Ni yiben shuni zhurusang kong Wen Xiangcheng shi niebie Sanchuan Tuhua ziliaoni zui wulan shouji gesang pujigheqi bang. Gan jienang ye Sanchuan Tumin bang, mula shijiesa keliku wuge shi Sanchuan Tuhua bang. Gan Sanchuanni khamu wuruangdu yigua xi burajiang, ghada shuguo xuexiaodu suersang erdian shi yangshidiku wuge ma kuichengsini yaji yanjiu geku fangfani suerjiang. Ningku gan jieni minzunang wuge ma kuichengsini yaji yanjiu gekuni xiangxida meidieji berlang. Gan ni yiben shudinang aguer dahulaku aihou ma bieri he kongdu daolaku daoni zhurusang yuanyin, yige shi aihou ma dao ni wuruangku wuge ma kuicheng ghuerluoni huoluo xighaser bang, zai yige shi aihou ma dao dajiani terghaisa nuoqiku yige khere bieri hekula guanxitai bang. Wen Xiangcheng gan aihou ma daoni jiazhisini xiangxi mulaku xuankeji yanjiu gejiang.

Ni shudi aihou ma daoku yikuer yikuer pujighe yang yisi bikuni xiangxi zhuruser bang, han Yingyu ma Qidaila fanyi gejiang. Aihou ma daosini yala daolala, keji daolala, yageji daolala, yang yisi bang, gan ni jige aihou ma daoni luke kongdu yamerdage qingkuang bang, nisini yigua xiangxi zhuruser bang. Sanchuan wuruangni ye hudu xiangxi jieshao gejiang: tiedongdu yamerda bang, niebie yamerda bang, ni wuruangdu yangyang minzu bang, kedu kong bang, yangyang Tumin yimeghe bang, ghazherdu yang tarila, gherdu asi khara yang tiejiela, gansini shouru yang bang, ni wuruangku Tuminsi yang xinyang gela, gansini kuicheng yamerdage bang, Tuhuala gerku, jiawuku, yimegheku, wuruoni shuguo mulasini yaji daodala. Ni shudi han zhaoxiang wulan gherghaser bang, youxier shi yibei nian yiqiandu hesang hudu guizhen zhaoxiang bang. Youxier tiedongku zhaoxiangni hesang kong angji hesangni xiangxi zhuruji lai geku khuainuoku kongsi guorimiandu hesangni bang ge erda jila gejiang. Wen Xiangcheng ti zhaoxiangsini taniji gherghaku gan tisini bari xidiersang kongsidu ersighe, zhaoxiangdiku wuruangsini yerri ningge, zui khuainuo queding geji ti zhaoxiangsini Sanchuandu hesangni bang, zhaoxiangdiku kongsi Sanchuanni Tumin bang. Gan ningsa khuainuo ni fangmianni yanjiu geqing kongsidu ziliao liulaji gejiang.

Gansu ma Qing'hai ni yidaini guori minzula kelila xiku, Sanchuanni Tuminsi saosang wuruang shi guori minzusini jiura jiake saoser bikula gansi xinyang gekuni ye hudu wulan bang. Wen Xiangchengni shudi zhurusangni shi Sanchuan Tuminsi zui chuang ba yangzi xinyang gelang, gansini lai xideraku xinyang jiura han gezhong guanxitai bang. Gansi tiangere ghazher wobo nuersini ye xinyang gelang, huala fashi nianjianguisini ye xinyang gelang, burasang xianrensinang ye xinyang gelang, jianjianni miaoku perghangsinang ye xinyang gelang, yinyangni Daojiaoni ye xinyang gelang, Tiebie wuruangsa chuanliji risang Fojiaoni ye xinyang gelang, Qidai ghazhersa chuanliji risang Fojiaoni ye xinyang gelang, han youxier kong Yesujiaoni xinyang gelang. Yesujiaosa guori xinyangsini tiedongku xianrensini biansa yizhi huoluo xinyang ge bao rijiang.

Sanchuan Tuminni youxier kuicheng shi tiedongku Mangghuerni kuichengni liula gesangni bang. Sanchuan Tuminsi nazherdu diaoliku nadun jiu Mangghuerni "naadum" gesang kuicheng bang. Gansini youxier kuicheng Qidai ghula guanxitai bang. Tiedongku Sanchuanni xijunkongsi khuer huoruoku kuicheng shi Qidaisa rijiang. Sanchuanni Tumin guori mianku Tuminsila zui lai xideraku ge ruang shi khuer huoruoku nige kuicheng bang. Sanchuanni Tumin xijunkongsi khuer huoruolang, guori mianku Tumin xijunkongsi khuer huoruola guang. Nige kuichengla wujiku Sanchuanni Tuminsi tiedongsa Qidaila yizhi qinqi sao baorijiang. Niebieku Sanchuanni Tuminsi tiedongdu Mangghuer kong ni wuruangni zhankekusa mieshi Qidai bisa ye chuang. Sanchuanni Tuminsi bieri heku daoni ye wulanqi Qidaila daolalang, youxier Tuhuala daolaku dao jiura ye Qidai jialaser bang.

Ni yiben shu hudu gezaini ge ruang shi zhurusang kong gan ge fangmiansa Sanchuan Tuminni jieshao gejiang, shu tuduruo jiarisang jige aihou ma daoni ye ge fangmiansa fenxi geji zhurujiang. Mei yige aihou ma daola guanxitai kuichengni ye xiangxi zhuruser bang, ningku ni shuni wujiqing kong aihou ma daoni ye meidiejiang, yamerda kuichengdu yaji jiarikuni ye meidiejiang. Aihou ma daoku mei yige pujigheni keliku shengyin ma jiariku fangfani gezaida zhurusang ni ye hudu jiazhitai bang. Sanchuan Tuhuani keliku shengyin ma ni wuruangku Qidai wuge ghula xideraji xilang, jiurani Qidai ye wulan jialaser bang. Nige yuanyinla Qidai pujighe suer kongdu jiariku pinyinla Sanchuan Tuhuani zhuru gherghaji berjiang. Pinyin ghula Sanchuan Tuhuani shengyinni bangjian yigua zhuru gherghaji berlang, danshi Tuhuaku youxier shengyinsi Qidai gedu wuguang, ningku pinyinla zhuruji gherghasang Sanchuan Tuyudu Qidai wugeni pinyinla lai xideraku pujighe ye bang. Ni yizhong pinyin Tuyu pujighe ghersangsa ge Sanchuan Tuhuani shengyinni jilaji wulan fangbianrajiang, ningsa mieshi Sanchuan Tuhuani zhurusang shudiher ye wulan jiarijiang.

Ni yiben shu Sanchuan Tuyuni pujigheni dalai wulantughajiang, yinwei ni yiben shudi ningsa mieshiku

Sanchuan Tuyuni shudiher lai qigesang pujighe wulan jilaji geser bang. Yibei yibei kongsi keliku ge yaji bianlisangni ye xiangxi zhurujiang: yibei nian yiqiandu shengkesang Sanchuan Tuzu kongsi Tuhua keli kongdu han tiedongku Mangghuer wuge wulan jiarilang, ni yixier wugeni liu qishi nian yiqian shengkesang ni yidai kongni biandu kuerku sangghage lai jiarikuni wulan bang. San sishi nian yiqian shengkesang ni yidai Sanchuan Tumindu kuerku tiedongku wugeni sangghasangni han wulan bang. Tiedongku "kherghana" nige Sanchuan Tuhuani liu qishi nian yiqian shengkesang kongsi kherghaku Qidaini suila "laochu" gaila xighajiang, zhang zhutu tuoluo kongdu "kherghana"ni ge jiarilang. Sanchuan Tuhuaku "kherghana"ni genzi shi tiedongku Mangghuer wugeku "kulugana" bang. Tidongku "bersi" nige Sanchuan Tuhua san sishi nian yiqian shengkesang ni yidai Tuminsini biandu kuerku Qidaini "laohu" aruerji xighajiang. "Bersi" shi tiedongku Mangghuer wugeku "bars"sa risangni bang.

Ni shudi zhurusangni Sanchuan Tuhuani han yige tedian shi tiedongku liangge pujighetai wuge zhang aihou yila ma dao daola kongdu han jiarilang, jiaoduer keliku wugedu zhang yige pujighe bersaojiang. Aihou yila kongdu jiariku "yiri" suchangdu keliku "ri" gelang, "yiri" gela guang. Aihou yila kongdu jiariku "wulai" suchangdu keliku "lai" gelang, "wulai" geji kelila guang. "Yiri" shi tiedongku Mangghuer wuge "ire"sa risangni bang, "wulai" shi tiedongku Mangghuer wuge "ülü"sa risangni bang.

Yizhong wugeni guori wugenigher aruerji xighaku ni yizhong wuge guida yaolang, yizhong wuge zhuguerge bianliji gan guidaji yaola wuguang. Guori wugesa daodaku niere ma keliku fangfasini ahe ri jiarisang xiandu Sanchuan Tuhua tiedongsa yizhi liula bao rijiang, mermerjia bianlijiang ma hanshi jieni wugenang liula gejiang. Danshi Wen Xiangchengni diaocha gesangla jiku Sanchuan Tuhuani niebie zheng guori wuge aruerji helang. 2000 niansa khuainuo shengkesang Sanchuan Tuminsi wulanqi Qidai keli bosi jieni wugenang gezaida keliji naghu dalang, nasitai kongsi keliku geni gansi yigua dongla dalang. Niebieku ningdage qingkuang shi puza ge

ershi nian ber kongdu Sanchuandu Tuhua keliqing kong niebiekusa bange chuangtukunang. Jieni wugenang lai keli zhijie guori wuge keli bosiku jieni wuge guida yaoku kenengtai bang. Jieni wugenang jierghaji keliqing mula kongsi yue chuangtuku, ni wuge guida yaoku keneng yue shuguo bang.

Wugesi guida yaoku ni qingkuang shi niebie man yangshidi bang. Ni shi man yangshini ge fangmian bosi gher risangla guanxitai bang. Man yangshidiku haoduo wuge yijing guida yao jierghaji gherji ri daku weishidu kuerjiang, danshi yizhong wugeni shuguonisi mulanisi jiura keliqing kong bisa, ni wuge guida yaoku qingkuangni hangburagha geji berku kenengtai bang. Sanchuan Tuhua niebie zheng ningdage weishidu kuerser bang. Tiedongku kuichengsi mermerjia bianliku nixier kuichengdu jiariku wugeni zai jiariku wuruang guang, ningku wudangdu diger digerjia sanggha gelang. Ni shudi zhurusang aihou ma dao jiu tiedongku kuichengsi bianli yaoku niebie daolaqing kong mermerjia chuangtulang, aihou ma daosi guidaji xilang. Yangshi mermerjia bianliku kuichengsi a dagha bianlilang, wugesi a bianlilang, danshi yizhong wugeni youxier jiariku ruangdu wulan kong yizhi jiari saoku ni wuge yizhuer guidaji yaola guang, yizhi jiergha keli saoji berlang.

Sanchuan Tuminsi jieni wugenang bao mershidaji, jianjianni gerdunang ye keli, ghada gherku ye jiariji ber ninggesa, hanshi ni Sanchuan wuruangni kongsinang kaolakunang. Wen Xiangcheng shengge ningda pujigheqisi, wuge ma kuichengsini yaji baohu gekuni meidieqing zhuanjiasi, suoyou ni wugeni keliqing Tuminsi, dajia yigua kuji gherghaku kerlikunang. Yageji keli a, khuainuo kuersa Sanchuan Tuhuanang digeghaji jiariji saonu, hanshi mermerjia sangghage guida yaonu, ni Sanchuan Tuminsini jiesini gherdu bang.

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APPENDIX 3: TRADITIONIAL MONGOLIAN TRANSLATION OF THE PREFACE

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] (Juha Janhunen, Юха Янхунэн)

[illegible]

[illegible] — [illegible]

[illegible] 土族 [illegible] 土人 (《[illegible]》) [illegible]

[illegible] (《[illegible]》) [illegible] (《[illegible]》) [illegible]

[illegible] (Grigorij Nikolaevich Potanin, Григорий Николаевич Потанин, 1835—1920) [illegible]

[illegible][1] [illegible] 《широнгол》 [illegible][2] ᠃ [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] ᠃

ښځینه د مخه تللې ده. ځینې ځله ښځینه د نارینه مخه نیسي، ځینې ځله نارینه د ښځینه مخه نیسي، دا د ژوند د ټولو برخو لپاره ریښتیا دی. ((ډیسمبر)) ، ښځینه ګډون کوونکي ((مخه نیونکي)) دي ((تړلې ګوتې

ئۇيغۇر تىلىنىڭ ئىستېمالدىكى ئورنى ئۈزلۈكسىز تۆۋەنلەپ كەتمەكتە. ئۇيغۇر تىلى ئۆزىنىڭ ئىستېمال دائىرىسىنى ئۈزلۈكسىز كېڭەيتىۋاتقان ھازىرقى زامان ئىلىم-پەن، ئىقتىسادىي ھاياتتا ئۆزىنىڭ ئورنىنى تېپىشتا ئىنتايىن قىيىن ئەھۋالدا قالماقتا. «ئۇيغۇر تىلى ئۆلۈۋاتىدۇ» دېگەن ئاگاھلاندۇرۇش ئاۋازى ئۇيغۇر ئاممىسى ئارىسىدا كۈچلۈك ئىنكاس قوزغىدى. ئۇيغۇر تىلىنىڭ ئىستېمالدىكى ئورنىنىڭ تۆۋەنلىشى ئۇيغۇر تىلىنىڭ ئۆلۈشىنىڭ ئالامىتى دەپ قارىلىپ، ئۇيغۇر تىلىنى قوغداش ھەرىكىتى ئۇيغۇر ئاممىسىنىڭ ئورتاق ئىستىكىگە ئايلاندى. ئۇيغۇر تىلىنى قوغداش ھەرىكىتى ئۇيغۇر تىلىنىڭ ئىستېمالدىكى ئورنىنى ساقلاپ قېلىش ۋە ئۇنى يۇقىرى كۆتۈرۈشنى ئاساسىي مەقسەت قىلغان ئىدى. ئۇيغۇر تىلىنى قوغداش ھەرىكىتى ئۇيغۇر تىلىنىڭ ئىستېمالدىكى ئورنىنى ساقلاپ قېلىش ۋە ئۇنى يۇقىرى كۆتۈرۈشنى ئاساسىي مەقسەت قىلغان ئىدى. ئۇيغۇر تىلىنى قوغداش ھەرىكىتى ئۇيغۇر تىلىنىڭ ئىستېمالدىكى ئورنىنى ساقلاپ قېلىش ۋە ئۇنى يۇقىرى كۆتۈرۈشنى ئاساسىي مەقسەت قىلغان ئىدى. ئۇيغۇر تىلىنى قوغداش ھەرىكىتى ئۇيغۇر تىلىنىڭ ئىستېمالدىكى ئورنىنى ساقلاپ قېلىش ۋە ئۇنى يۇقىرى كۆتۈرۈشنى ئاساسىي مەقسەت قىلغان ئىدى.

ئۇيغۇر تىلىنى قوغداش ھەرىكىتى ئۇيغۇر تىلىنىڭ ئىستېمالدىكى ئورنىنى ساقلاپ قېلىش ۋە ئۇنى يۇقىرى كۆتۈرۈشنى ئاساسىي مەقسەت قىلغان ئىدى. ئۇيغۇر تىلىنى قوغداش ھەرىكىتى ئۇيغۇر تىلىنىڭ ئىستېمالدىكى ئورنىنى ساقلاپ قېلىش ۋە ئۇنى يۇقىرى كۆتۈرۈشنى ئاساسىي مەقسەت قىلغان ئىدى. ئۇيغۇر تىلىنى قوغداش ھەرىكىتى ئۇيغۇر تىلىنىڭ ئىستېمالدىكى ئورنىنى ساقلاپ قېلىش ۋە ئۇنى يۇقىرى كۆتۈرۈشنى ئاساسىي مەقسەت قىلغان ئىدى.

ئۇيغۇر تىلىنى قوغداش ھەرىكىتى ئۇيغۇر تىلىنىڭ ئىستېمالدىكى ئورنىنى ساقلاپ قېلىش ۋە ئۇنى يۇقىرى كۆتۈرۈشنى ئاساسىي مەقسەت قىلغان ئىدى. ئۇيغۇر تىلىنى قوغداش ھەرىكىتى ئۇيغۇر تىلىنىڭ ئىستېمالدىكى ئورنىنى ساقلاپ قېلىش ۋە ئۇنى يۇقىرى كۆتۈرۈشنى ئاساسىي مەقسەت قىلغان ئىدى. ئۇيغۇر تىلىنى قوغداش ھەرىكىتى ئۇيغۇر تىلىنىڭ ئىستېمالدىكى ئورنىنى ساقلاپ قېلىش ۋە ئۇنى يۇقىرى كۆتۈرۈشنى ئاساسىي مەقسەت قىلغان ئىدى.

ئۇيغۇر تىلىنى قوغداش ھەرىكىتى ئۇيغۇر تىلىنىڭ ئىستېمالدىكى ئورنىنى ساقلاپ قېلىش ۋە ئۇنى يۇقىرى كۆتۈرۈشنى ئاساسىي مەقسەت قىلغان ئىدى. ئۇيغۇر تىلىنى قوغداش ھەرىكىتى ئۇيغۇر تىلىنىڭ ئىستېمالدىكى ئورنىنى ساقلاپ قېلىش ۋە ئۇنى يۇقىرى كۆتۈرۈشنى ئاساسىي مەقسەت قىلغان ئىدى. ئۇيغۇر تىلىنى قوغداش ھەرىكىتى ئۇيغۇر تىلىنىڭ ئىستېمالدىكى ئورنىنى ساقلاپ قېلىش ۋە ئۇنى يۇقىرى كۆتۈرۈشنى ئاساسىي مەقسەت قىلغان ئىدى.

ئۇيغۇر تىلىنى قوغداش ھەرىكىتى ئۇيغۇر تىلىنىڭ ئىستېمالدىكى ئورنىنى ساقلاپ قېلىش ۋە ئۇنى يۇقىرى كۆتۈرۈشنى ئاساسىي مەقسەت قىلغان ئىدى. ئۇيغۇر تىلىنى قوغداش ھەرىكىتى ئۇيغۇر تىلىنىڭ ئىستېمالدىكى ئورنىنى ساقلاپ قېلىش ۋە ئۇنى يۇقىرى كۆتۈرۈشنى ئاساسىي مەقسەت قىلغان ئىدى. ئۇيغۇر تىلىنى قوغداش ھەرىكىتى ئۇيغۇر تىلىنىڭ ئىستېمالدىكى ئورنىنى ساقلاپ قېلىش ۋە ئۇنى يۇقىرى كۆتۈرۈشنى ئاساسىي مەقسەت قىلغان ئىدى.

ډیرې ځیرکتیا وه چې د ټولو ټولنیزو ګډونوالو په منځ کې د ژوند کولو لپاره ورته ځانګړتیاوې ولري. د ټولنیزو ګډونوالو ټولګه د ټولنیزو ګډونوالو ټولګې په څیر ده چې د ټولنیزو ګډونوالو ټولګې په څیر ده چې د ټولنیزو ګډونوالو ټولګې په څیر ده چې

د ۲۰ شپږمې نېټې د ۱۴۰۱ لمریز کال د سلواغې د میاشتې د ۲۰ نېټې پورې د ۱۴۰۱ لمریز کال د ټولنیزو خوندیتوب د ۱۴۰۱ کلنۍ پروګرام

ᠮᠣᠩᠭᠣᠯ ᠬᠡᠯᠡᠨ ᠳᠡᠪᠲᠡᠷ ᠪᠣᠯᠤᠨ ᠬᠡᠯᠡᠨ ᠤ ᠰᠤᠷᠭᠠᠯᠲᠠ ᠵᠢᠨ ᠰᠡᠳᠬᠦᠯ ᠳᠡᠭᠡᠭᠡᠳᠦ ᠶᠡᠬᠡ ᠬᠡᠮᠵᠢᠶᠡᠨ ᠳᠤ ᠪᠠᠢᠷᠢᠯᠠᠵᠤ ᠪᠤᠢ

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The First Historical Archives of China [illegible]

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APPENDIX 4: CYRILLIC MONGOLIAN TRANSLATION OF THE PREFACE

УДИРТГАЛ

МАНГУЭР ХҮМҮҮСИЙН ХЭЛ, СОЁЛЫН УЛАМЖЛАЛЫГ ХАДГАЛАН ҮЛДЭЭХ НЬ

Юха Янхунэн
Оросын ШУА-ийн Хэл шинжлэлийн хүрээлэн,
Санкт-Петербург, Орос улс

Энэ ном бол нэгэн мартагдаж буй соёлын уламжлал—бэрийн уй гашуудал, хуримын дууны тухай өгүүлдэг. Уг уламжлал нь хятад албан ангиллын дагуу *түзу* 土族 буюу *түжэнь* 土人 («нутаг нутгийн хүмүүс») хэмээн хамааруулагддаг цөөн тоот угсаатны нэг хэсэгт хамаардаг боловч өөрсдийгөө уламжлалт ёсоор *дани конг* («манай хүмүүс») эсвэл *дасыни конг* («манай хүмүүс») хэмээн нэрлэдэг. Оросын аялагч Григорий Николаевич Потанин (1835–1920) энэхүү ард түмний хэлийг анх тэмдэглэн баримтжуулсан [1] бөгөөд тэднийг «широнгол» гэж нэрлэжээ [2]. Сүүлийн жилүүдэд тэднийг мангуэр гэж нэрлэх болсон. Энэ нэршлээс харахад мангуэрчууд нь Монгол хэлний язгуурт хамаарах, Монгол, Өвөр Монгол зэрэгт яригддаг хэлтэй ойролцоо нэгэн хэлийг ярьдаг ажээ.

Мангуэрчуудын уугуул нутаг нь хятадаар Саньчуань 三川 («Гурван гол» буюу «Гурван хөндий»), мангуэраар *Дани Руанг*, *Дани Вуруанг* («Манай газар»), эсвэл *Мани Газер* («Ерөөлт нутаг») гэж нэрлэгддэг бөгөөд Монгол улсаас нэлээд зайтай, Хятадын өнөөгийн Ганьсу, Чинхай мужид, түүхэн Төвдийн Амдо мужтай нийлдэг Шар мөрний дээд хөндийд оршдог.

Түүхэн мэдээ баримтаас үзэхэд мангуэр хэлний угсаа гарвалынхан Юань (1271–1368), Мин (1368–1644) гүрний үед Хятад-Төвдийн хилийн бүсэд байрлаж байсан Монгол цэргийн анги нэгтгэлийн бүрэлдэхүүнд багтан ирсэн

нь тодорхой байна. Мангуэрчууд бол энэ бүс нутгийг бүрдүүлэгч олон үндэстэн ястны нэгдэл дунд орших нэгэн хэсэг бөгөөд тус бүсэд Монгол угсааны хэд хэдэн өөр хэл, Түрэгийн ховордсон хэлнүүд, мөн Төвд, Умард Хятадын хэлний олон хувилбарууд зэрэг зэрэгцэн оршдог.

Урт хугацааны зэрэгцэн оршсон түүхийн улмаас ялангуяа Төвд болон Хятад хэлнээс өөр хэл ярьдаг ард иргэдийн дунд олон хэлт үзэгдэл ноёлж иржээ. Хэл хоорондын харилцан нөлөөлөл нь үгсийн сан болон хэл зүйн бүтцэд тусгалаа олсон бөгөөд ингэснээр тухайн хэлнүүд нь өнөөдөр «Чинхай-Ганьсугийн хэлний холбоо» буюу «Амдо шпрахбунд» хэмээх бүс нутгийн хэлний нэгдэлд багтах болсон [3]. Мангуэр хэл нь энэхүү хэлний нэгдлийн тод жишээ бөгөөд монгол язгуурын хэлний үндэс дээр Төвдийн нөлөөлөл нэмэгдэж, улмаар орон нутгийн хятад хэлний хэлзүйн загваруудтай нэгдсэн өвөрмөц хэл болон хөгжжээ.

Мангуэр хэл хэзээ, хэрхэн тусгаар хэл болж хувирсан нь тодорхойгүй. Түүний хамгийн ойрын төрөл хэл нь өмнө нь Бельгийн шашны эрхэм Антуан Мостаэрт (1881–1971), түүний хамтран зүтгэгч Альберт Де Смедт (1884–1941) нарын бүрэн баримтжуулж байсан монгуор хэл байв [4]. Гэвч тэр цагаас хойш монгуор хэлээр ярьдаг хүн дахин олдоогүй нь уг хэл бүрэн устсан байж болзошгүйг харуулж байна. Харин мангуэраас хоёр дахь ойрын хэл нь өнөөдөр ч хэрэглэгдсээр байгаа монгул хэл бөгөөд Чинхай мужийн хойд хэсэг болон Ганьсутай залгаа бүс нутагт тархан оршдог.

Мангуэр болон монгул хоёр нь газар зүйн хувьд тусдаа төдийгүй хэл зүйн хувьд харилцан ойлголцох боломжгүй түвшинд ялгаатай болсон байна. Гэвч энэхүү хоёр хэл, мөн монгуор хэлнүүдийг бүхэлд нь уламжлалт ёсоор «монгуор» (буюу «цагаан монгол») гэж нэгтгэн нэрлэдэг [5]. Уг нэр нь хятадын *Түзү юй* 土族語 буюу «нутгийн хүмүүсийн хэл» хэмээх бүдэг ойлголттой дүйж буй боловч заримдаа огтхон ч монгол язгуурт хамаарахгүй хэлнүүд ч энэ ангилалд багтаж байдаг [6].

Амдо шпрахбунд дахь монгол хэлний аялгуу дундаас мангуэр хэл хамгийн бага судлагдаж, хамгийн сүүлд анхааралд өртсөн нь юм. Хэл зүйн анхны судалгаа нь 2003 онд л хэвлэгдсэн [7]. Гэхдээ бусад нутгийн хэлнүүдтэй харьцуулахад мангуэр хэл харьцангуй давуу байдалд оршсоор ирсэн. Учир нь энэхүү хэлийг нүүдэлчин бус, хөдөө суурьшсан 20,000–30,000 орчим хүн нэлээд нягт суурьшилтай нутаг дэвсгэрт хэрэглэгдсээр ирсэн бөгөөд үүнд мангуэрчуудын «нийслэл» гэгдэх Гуаньтин хэмээх суурин ч багтана.

Хэдхэн арван жилийн өмнө тус нутаг дахь нийт хүн амын хувьд мангуэр хэл нь нийгмийн бүх харилцаанд хэрэглэгддэг гол хэл байсан бөгөөд боловсролд хятад хэл, шашинд төвд хэл хавсран хэрэглэгддэг байв. Гэвч өнөөдөр энэхүү байдал хурдтай өөрчлөгдөж байгаа бөгөөд үүнд үндсэн шалтгаан нь хятадын соёлын ноёрхол, мэдээллийн хэрэгслээр дамжсан нэвтрэлт, хөдөө нутгийн залуус хот суурин газар руу нүүж амьдрал ахуйгаа дээшлүүлэхийг эрмэлзэж буй явдал юм. Үүний улмаас залуу үе зөвхөн угсаатны хэлээ бус, мөн тухайн хэлээр дамжин уламжлагддаг бүх соёлоо ч хамтад нь алдаж эхэлжээ.

Ийм нөхцөлд мангуэр ард түмэн, тэдний хэл, соёлын өв уламжлалын ирээдүйн талаарх санаа зовнилууд гарч ирэх нь ойлгомжтой. Энэхүү номын зохиогч Вэнь Сяньчэн нь мангуэр аман зохиолын чиглэлээр ажиллаж буй хамгийн идэвхтэй цуглуулагч, хамгийн сайн мэдлэгтэй мэргэжилтэн бөгөөд тэрбээр мангуэр хэлээр төрөлх хэл мэт ярьдаг, угсаатны бүлгийн гишүүн хүний хувьд өөрийн ард түмний уламжлалыг дотоод мэдрэмжтэйгээр гүнзгий ойлгож, мэргэжлийн түвшинд үнэлэх чадвартай. Тэрбээр бэрийн уй гашуудал болон хуримын дуунуудыг сонгон судалгаа хийхээр шийдсэн нь тун зөв сонголт бөгөөд энэ нь ардын аман зохиол, хөгжмийг уламжлалт нийгмийн чухал институц болох гэрлэлттэй холбон судлах боломжийг бүрдүүлжээ.

Энэхүү сэдвийн талаар бичсэн Вэнь Сяньчэнгийн судалгаа нь зөвхөн жинхэнэ орчинд газар дээр нь

бичигдсэн аман бүтээлийг сонгон толилуулж, тайлбар орчуулга, хэл зүйн задлан шинжилгээ хийснээр зогсохгүй, мангуэр ард түмний түүх, соёл, өнөөгийн байдал, нийгмийн байгуулал, төрөл садангийн тогтолцоо, нэршлийн талаар гүнзгий, өргөн хүрээтэй танилцуулга өгч байна. Энэхүү судалгааг түүхэн (1949 оноос өмнөх) гэрэл зургуудын хамт баяжуулсан бөгөөд эдгээр зургуудыг Вэнь Сяньчэн анх удаа мангуэрчуудтай холбон тогтоожээ.

Мангуэрчууд нь Ганьсу–Чинхайн бүс нутгийн хүрээнд хүртэл туйлын ховор тохиолддог, соёлын гүн гүнзгий уусал (синкретизм)-ын жишээ болсон угсаатан юм. Тэдний хэлний түүхийн төвөгтэй байдал ч үүнийг илэрхийлдэг. Вэнь Сяньчэнгийн тэмдэглэснээр мангуэрчуудын сүнслэг өвд нөлөөлсөн найман өөр шашны үзэл санаа байдаг бөгөөд эдгээрийн зарим нь хоорондоо нягт уялдаатай: анимизм, бөө мөргөл, өвөг дээдсийн шүтлэг, хятадын ардын шашин, даоизм, төвдийн буддизм, хятадын буддизм болон христийн шашин.

Надун хэмээх одоо ч үргэлжлэн тэмдэглэгддэг зуны баяр, эртний монгол хэлний *naadum гэдэг үгнээс гаралтай бөгөөд түүхэн монголчуудтай холбоотой. Харин хөл боох заншил гэх мэт зарим уламжлал нь зөвхөн мангуэрчуудад байдаг бөгөөд энэ нь тэднийг бусад монгол хэлтнүүдээс ялгаж өгдөг онцлог бөгөөд Хятадын соёлтой ойр дотно харилцаа байсныг илтгэнэ. Магадгүй тодорхой үед мангуэрчууд болон нутгийн хятадчууд хоорондоо ихээхэн гэр бүл болж ураг холбогдож байсан байх. Иймээс мангуэрын хуримын дууны зарим нь бүрэн эхээрээ нутгийн хятад хэлээр дуулдаг. Харин зарим нь хятад үг хэллэгийг урт урт хэсгээр агуулдаг ч үгсийн дараалал, хэлзүйн бүтэц нь мангуэр хэлнийхээ хэвээр үлдсэн байдаг.

Энэхүү судалгааны онцгой ач холбогдол нь Вэнь Сяньчэнгийн олон талт хандлагаас харагдана. Тэрээр бичлэг болгон баримтжуулсан текстүүдийг зөвхөн аман зохиол, яруу найраг, уран сайхны үнэлэмж талаас бус, харин тухайн текстүүд анх бүтээгдэж, хэрэглэгдэж байсан түүхэн, соёлын, нийгмийн нөхцөл байдлыг цогцоор нь

харгалзан судалсан. Хэл зүйн нарийн тэмдэглэгээ болон дүрмийн шинжилгээ нь тун өндөр ач холбогдолтой. Аз болоход, мангуэр хэлний авиа зүйн хэв маяг нь нутгийн хятад хэлтэй ойролцоо тул, мангуэр хэлэнд Хятадын пиньинь системийг түшиглэсэн бичгийн практик зохиол бий болсон. Хэдийгээр энэхүү бичиг үсэг нь бүрэн фонемын системтэй дүйцэхгүй ч, мангуэр хэлний жинхэнэ авиа тогтолцоог оновчтой тусгаж чадсан байна. Мөн түүнчлэн, энэ бичиг үсэг нь мангуэрыг орон нутгийн хятад хэлтэй формын хувьд уялдуулах боломжийг бүрдүүлдэг бөгөөд хоёр хэл ээлжлэн оршдог текстүүдэд тохиромжтой байдаг.

Гэхдээ энэхүү бичиг үсгийн системийг шууд утгаар нь ойлгож болохгүй. Учир нь энэ нь хэлний авианы бүтэц, жинхэнэ дуудлагатайгаа бүрэн дүйцэхгүй бөгөөд зарим тохиолдолд тухайн үсгүүд нь стандарт хятад хэлэнд хэрэглэгддэг дуудлагаас эрс ялгаатай утгаар хэрэглэгддэг.

Энэхүү ном бол мангуэр хэлний шинэ эх сурвалжуудын нэг бөгөөд өмнөх мэдээллийн санг эрс баяжуулсан. Ялангуяа үгийн сангийн үе үеийн өөрчлөлтийн талаарх зохиогчийн ажиглалт нь онц сонирхолтой. 20-р зууны эхээр төрсөн хамгийн ахмад үеийнтухайн хэлээр ярьдаг хүмүүс эх хэлэндээ хадгалагдсан монгол үгсийг хэрэглэсээр байгаа нь дараагийн үеийн (дунд үе, 20-р зууны дунд үед төрөгсөд) ярианд бүрмөсөн алга болсон байдаг.

Үүнээс ч илүү хурдан үгийн сангийн алдагдал дараагийн үед (20-р зууны сүүл үед төрсөн) ажиглагджээ. Жишээ нь, «хулгана»-г илэрхийлэх *kulugana-аас гаралтай *kherghana* гэдэг үг хоёр дахь үед хятадын *laoshu* (老鼠) хэмээх үгээр солигдсон бол, «бар»-ыг илэрхийлдэг *bars-аас гаралтай *bersi* гэдэг үг гурав дахь үед хятадын *laohu* (老虎) гэдгээр солигдсон байна.

Мөн эх хэлэндээ хоёр үетэй байсан уг үгс заримдаа дуу шүлэгт бүтнээрээ хадгалагдаж үлдсэн ч жирийн ярианд эхний үе нь алдагдаж, нэг үетэй болсон байдал ч ажиглагддаг. Жишээ нь: *yiri* «ирэх» (< *ire-) гэдэг үг дуу шүлэгт бүтнээрээ байхад, ярианд зөвхөн *ri* болон

хэрэглэгддэг. Мөн эсэргүүцэх утга заах *wulai* (< *ülü) гэдэг үг ярианд зөвхөн *lai* болжээ.

Гэвч хэлний өөрчлөлт биш, харин хэлний шилжилт нь хэл устах гол шалтгаан болдог. Манай тохиолдолд хөрш хэлнээс зээлсэн үг, хэлзүйн загварууд мангуэр хэлний хөгжилд маш том нөлөө үзүүлсэн ч хэл үлдэж чадсан. Энэ нь чухамдаа гадаад нөлөөллийн ачаар мангуэр хэл ийм өвөрмөц, онцгой хэл болон хувирсан юм.

Харин хэлний шилжилт гэдэг нь мангуэр хүмүүс өөр хэл рүү, ихэвчлэн хятад хэлний олон янзын хэлбэр рүү шилжихийг хэлдэг бөгөөд энэ нь хэл залгамжлалын тасалдалд хүргэдэг. Вэнь Сяньчэнгийн мэдээллээр бол энэ үзэгдэл өнөөдөр газар авч байгаа. Хэрвээ 2000 оноос хойш төрсөн мангуэр залуусын ихэнх нь өөрсдийн хэлээ хэрэглэж чадахаа больсон бол, өнгөрсөн хорин жилд мангуэр хэл ярьдаг хүмүүсийн тоо бараг тал хүртлээ цөөрсөн байхыг үгүйсгэх аргагүй. Үүний үр дүнд цөөн хэдэн залуу ярьдагчид л хэлний залгамжлалыг авч явах чадвартай болж үлдэнэ.

Хэл мөхөх үзэгдэл бол дэлхий нийтийн хэмжээнд, даяаршлын шууд үр дагавар юм. Олон хэл аль хэдийнээ устаж үгүй болох босгыг даван орхижээ. Гэвч зарим хэлэнд, ялангуяа бүх насны бүлэгт идэвхтэй яригчид үлдсэн тохиолдолд энэ явцыг зогсоох боломж бий. Мангуэр хэл яг ийм нөхцөлд байна. Соёлын өөрчлөлтөөс болж хэлний олон хэрэглээ мартагдаж үгүй болох нь гарцаагүй, энэ номонд гарч байгаа сүйт бүсгүйн уйлал, хуримын дуу аль хэдийн тэгж мартагдсан нь үүний нэг жишээ юм. Гэхдээ өнөөгийн нийгэм, эдийн засгийн «шинэчлэл» явагдаж байна гээд заавал хэл устана гэсэн үг биш. Хэлээ хүмүүс нь өдөр тутмын амьдралдаа, аль болох нутгийнхаа хүрээнд хэрэглэж л байвал үгүй болохгүй.

Саньчуань нутагт мангуэр хэл зөвхөн айл өрх дотроо биш, нутгийн хэмжээнд ч хэрэглэгдэж үлдэх боломж одоохондоо байна. Гэхдээ үүний тулд Вэнь Сяньчэн шиг хүмүүс, хэлний мэргэжилтнүүд, идэвхтэй залуус, тэр бүхнээс илүү мангуэрчууд өөрсдөө ухамсартай хичээж,

оролдлого хийх хэрэгтэй болно. Эцсийн эцэст, мангуэр хэл хэрэглэгдсээр байх эсэх нь зөвхөн мангуэрчуудын өөрсдийн гарт буй билээ.

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APPENDIX 5: NON-ENGLISH TERMS

MANGGHUER TERMS

a, also
a, PRT
aba-nang, father-REFLPOSS; aba 阿爸
abu, take
adaling, same/similar
adaling-her, the same-COMP
ada-ni, father-GEN; ada 阿大
adi, father
agu nini, paternal grandfather's sisters and female cousins
aguer, girl/daughter
agu-ni, paternal aunt-POSS; agu 阿姑
ahe, take
ahu, husbands of father's sisters and female cousins
ai, VOL
aihou, bridal lamentation
ajia, older sisters and older female cousins
ajia-sa, older sister-ABL
ajiu-ni, maternal uncle-POSS; ajiu 阿舅
alima, fruit
ama, mouth
ama-her, mouth-COMP
ama-kandu, mouth-DAT
ama-li, mouth-VBLZR, hold in the mouth
ama-li-sang-ni, mouth-VBLZR-PERF-NOMLZR
ami-tang, life-COM, living being
amitu-la, living-INST
amu, broom corn millet, 糜子
amukhang-ni, millet-GEN
amula, fruit
amula, hold in the mouth
ana, mother
anana, modal particle
ana-nang, mother-REFLPOSS
ana-sa-nang, mother-ABL-REFLPOSS
ana-si, mother-PL
ana-si-ni, mother-PL-GEN
ana-ya, mother-VOL, modal particle
andige, egg
angguo, appearance
angji, where
angqi-ku, where-IMPERF
anou'a, modal particle
arasi, skin/shell/peel
aruer, river
aruerji, change/exchange
asi, livestock
awu, paternal uncle
awu-ni, paternal uncle-POSS
ayi, worry/startled/scared
ayi-bu, worry/startled/scared-SUBJ:PERF:QUEST
ayi-ni, aunt-POSS; ayi 阿姨

ba, QUEST
ba, SUBJ:PERF
Badaola, Eight Mountains; badao 八道
bai, stand
bai-ji, stand-IMPERF
bainu, OBJ:COP:QUEST
bake, guard; ba 把 (守)
bake-la, guard-PURP
bang, OBJ:COP
bangjian, nearly/almost
bansher, cloth robe
bao, do not
bao, go down/come down/put down
bao-gha-ji, put down-CAUSE-IMPERF
Baojia Aruer, Baojia River; Baojia 鲍家
baori, come down
baori-jiang, come down-OBJ:PERF
barang, right
barang-nang, right-REFLPOSS
bari, take/hold/present
bari-la, hold-PURP
bari-sang-ni, hold-PERF-NOMLZR
bayaji, become wealthy
bayang, rich/wealthy
Bazer, a Mangghuer village
bazer, city
bei, EMPH
beida, side
Beidou-ni, the Northern Dipper-GEN; Beidou 北斗
beila, carry on one's back/shoulder; bei 背
benbei, generation rank
benbuzi, Bon practitioner
ber, become
ber, cooked/done/ripe
ber-gha, become-CAUSE
berghuo-ni, become-SUBJ:FUT
ber-ji, become-IMPERF
ber-jiang, become-OBJ:PERF
ber-ku, become-IMPERF
ber-lang, become-OBJ:IMPERF
ber-nu, become-OBJ:COP:QUEST
ber-sao-jiang, become-stay-OBJ:PERF
ber-ser, become-PROG
bersi, tiger
bi, 1:SG, I
bi, have
bian, body
bian-du, body-DAT
bian-la, body-INST
bianli, change; bian 变
bianli-ji, change-IMPERF
bianli-jiang, change-OBJ:PERF
bianli-ku, change-IMPERF
bianli-lang, change-OBJ:IMPERF
bianli-sang-ni, change-PERF-NOMLZR
bian-sa, body-ABL
bie, body
bieri, wife

bi-ku, have-IMPERF
bi-ku-la, have-IMPERF-INST
bi-ku-ni, have-IMPERF-NOMLZR
bila, contrast/compare; bi 比
bila-ku, contrast/compare-IMPERF; bi 比
bingjia, people from the same village
bing-si, soldier-PL; bing 兵
bi-sa, be-COND
biu, OBJ:COP
biu, SUBJ:COP:QUEST
biyang, merit/good deeds/charitable deeds/benevolent acts
biyang-tai, merit-COM
boduo, knee
boduo-kandu, knee-DAT
boduo-li, knee-VBLZR, kneel
boduo-li-sang-ni, knee-VBLZR-PERF-NOMLZR
boghuoling, low
boghuoling-ni, low-ASSOC
boluo, wish
bombei, generation rank
bori, kidney
boruo, gray
boruo-tu yanshui, gray color; yanshui, yanse 颜色
boruo-tu, gray-become, become gray
bosi, cloth
bosi, erect
bosi, louse
bosi, start
bosi-gha-ku, erect-CAUSE-IMPERF
bosi-jiang, start-OBJ:PERF
bosi-ku, start-IMPERF
bosi-sang, start-PERF
budi, wheat
bughe, tree
bulai, boy
buleghe, spring
bura, finish/end
bura-jiang, finish/end-OBJ:PERF
bura-ni, finish/end-SUBJ:FUT
bura-sang, finish/end-PERF
cai-si-ni, dish-PL-ACC; cai 菜
caizhuer, steamed stuffed dumpling; cai 菜
chenggha, tight
chenggha-ra, tight-be
chenggha-ra-gha, tight-be-CAUSE
chengli-qing, listen-person, listener
cher xijun, niece (brother's daughters)
cher, nephew (brother's sons) and niece (brother's daughters)
cher-du-nang, nephew/niece-DAT-REFLPOSS
cherghuluo, to lock
cherghuluo-sa, lock-COND
cherghuo, lock
chersi, paper
chidang-ji, up/north-DIR

chighai-ra, white-become, become white
chighang sai, chighang cai, cabbage
chighang tuerma, turnip
chighang, white
china, boil/cook
china-gu, boil-IMPERF
china-lang, cook-OBJ:IMPERF
chuandao-ni, plain-GEN; chuandao 川道
chuang, few/less
chuang, possible
chuang-tu-ku-nang, less-become-IMPERF-REFLPOSS
chuang-tu-lang, less-become-OBJ:IMPERF
chuanli, spread/pass on; chuan 传
chuanli-ji, spread/pass on-IMPERF; chuan 传
chuanli-la, spread/pass on-PURP; chuan 传
chujin, guest
da, cannot
dagha, follow
dahula, see off
dahula-ku, see off-IMPERF
dahula-lang, see off-OBJ:IMPERF
dahula-ni, see off-SUBJ:FUT
daige, never
daiguo, soon/quickly
daila, bring; dai 带
daila-ji, bring-IMPERF
da-ji, cannot-IMPERF
dajia-nang, all people-REFLPOSS; dajia 大家
da-jiang, cannot-OBJ:PERF
da-jiang-la, cannot-OBJ:PERF-IMPERF
da-ku, cannot-IMPERF
dala, brew (liquor)
dala, place on; da 搭
dala-gu, brew-IMPERF
dalai, very much/a lot
dalai-ge, a lot-ADV
dala-ku, place on-IMPERF; da 搭
da-lang, cannot-OBJ:IMPERF
dala-sang-ni, brew-PERF-NOMLZR
dalian, robe
dalu, shoulder
dalu-kandu, shoulder-DAT
dalu-li, shoulder-VBLZR, carry on the shoulder
dalu-li-sang-ni, shoulder-VBLZR-PERF-NOMLZR
damei, 1:SG:DAT
damei-du, 1:SG:DAT-DAT
dangla, became; dang 当
dangla-ku, become-IMPERF; dang 当
Dangquo Wobo, a mountain in Sanchuan
dani huang, last year
dani kong, our people
dani, former
da-ni, we-GEN, our
dao, voice/song

daoda, call/address
daoda-jiang, call-OBJ:PERF
daoda-ku, call-IMPERF
daoda-la, call-IMPERF
daoda-lang, call-OBJ:IMPERF
Daojiao-ni, Taoism-ACC; Daojiao 道教
dao-ku, song-IMPERF
daola, sing
daola-ku, sing-IMPERF
daola-la, sing-IMPERF
daola-lang, sing-OBJ:IMPERF
daola-qing, sing-person, singer
dao-ni, song-ACC
dao-si-ni, song-PL-ACC
dapusi, salt
dasi, thread
dasi, we
dasi-ni kong, we-GEN people, our people
dasi-ni, we-GEN, our
di, door
di, eat
diandong, silly/stupid
dianke, light; dian 点
dianke-gha, light-CAUSE; dian 点
dianqier, washer/pad; dian 垫
diao, younger siblings and cousins
diaoli, dance
diaoli-ku, dance-IMPERF
diao-sa, younger sibling-ABL
diao-sa-nang, younger sibling-ABL-REFLPOSS
diao-si, younger sibling-PL
di-ba, eat-SUBJ:PERF
di-bu, eat-SUBJ:PERF:QUEST
didi, paternal grandfather
dier, clothes
dierbanjin, wooden tray
diere qige, pillow ears, pillow ends
diere, above
diere, pillow
dier-si-nang, clothes-PL-REFLPOSS
diesi, rope
dige, alive
dige-gha-ji, alive-CAUSE-IMPERF
diger, a little/a few
diger-ge, a little/a few-ADV
diger-jia, a little/a few-ADV
di-ji, eat-IMPERF
di-ku-ni, eat-IMPERF-NOMLZR
dingla, carry on the head; ding 顶
dingla-sang-ni, carry on the head-PERF-NOMLZR; ding 顶
Dongda Terghai, a mountain in Sanchuan
dongda, middle/center
dongla, understand; dong 懂
du, DAT
du, now
duer, buy/sell

duer, day
duer-ku, buy-IMPERF
Duerma Di, a deity in Sanchuan; di 帝
duer-nang, day-REFLPOSS
duolang, the memorial rituals held every seven days after a person's death
duoruo ghazher, lower land (refers to the southern region of China)
duoruo, under
duoruo-ji, downward/south-DIR
duruasi, liquor/alcohol
duruasi-ni, liquor-ACC
Enduba Ghuer, Enduba Valley, an area in Sanchuan
enggui, not have
enggui-ku, not have-IMPERF
erber, embrace
erber-kandu, embrace-DAT
erber-li, embrace-VBLZR, embrace in the arms
erber-li-sang-ni, embrace-VBLZR-PERF-NOMLZR
erda, mistake/error/fault/wrong
erdian, skill/ability/capability
erdian-ni, skill/ability/capability-ACC
ergu, carry on one's shoulder
erjige, donkey
ermisara, bat
erqighe, kneecap
ersighe, ask
ertang, gold
fangbian-ra-jiang, convenient-be-OBJ:PERF; fangbian 方便
fangfa-du, method-DAT; fangfa 方法
fangfa-ni, method-ACC; fangfa 方法
fangfa-si-ni, method-PL-ACC; fangfa 方法
fangmian-ni, aspect-ACC; fangmian 方面
fangmian-sa, aspect-ABL; fangmian 方面
Fojiao-du, Buddhism-DAT; Fojiao 佛教
Fojiao-ku, Buddhism-IMPERF; Fojiao 佛教
Fojiao-ni, Buddhism-GEN; Fojiao 佛教
fuguer/huguer, cattle
gaga, older brothers and older male cousins
gai-la, change-PURP; gai 改
gan, 3:SG, he/she
gana, wives of father's younger brothers; ga 尕
gan-du, 3:SG-DAT
gan-ni, 3:SG-GEN, his/her
ganpuser, licorice
gan-si, 3:SG-PL, they
gan-si-ni, 3:SG-PL-GEN, their
gara, purple

ge, do
ge, language
ge, SG:INDEF
gediesi, belly
ge-du, language-DAT
ge-gu, hear-IMPERF
geigan, bright/light
geigan-ni, bright-ASSOC
ge-ji, QUOTE-IMPERF
ge-jiang, do-OBJ:PERF
ge-ku, do-IMPERF
ge-ku-ni, do-IMPERF-NOMLZR
ge-la, do-IMPERF
ge-lang, do-OBJ:IMPERF
ge-ni, language-ACC
ge-qing, do-person
ger, case/sheath
ger, home/room/afterbirth
gerber, root/source
gerber-la, root/source-INST
ger-du, home-DAT
ger-du-nang, home-DAT-REFLPOSS
ger-ku, home-IMPERF
gerni kong, family members or one's husband or wife
gerni niere, home name
ger-ni, home-GEN
ge-sa, do-COND
ge-sang, do-PERF
ge-sang-la, do-PERF-IMPERF
ge-sang-ni, do-PERF-NOMLZR
ge-ser, do-PROG
gezai ger, good home
gezai kuergan, good husband
gezai, good
gezai-da, good-indeed
gezai-ni, good-NOMLZR
gha qijighe, stellera flower
gha, bowl
Ghada Ximian, Ghada Monastery
Ghada Ximie, Ghada Monastery
ghada, outside
ghada-ku, outside-IMPERF
ghadang, cliff
ghajiuri, Mangghuer women's sleeveless jacket
ghazha, bite
ghazha-gha, bite-CAUSE
ghazher, land/field/earth
ghazher-du, field-DAT
ghazher-sa, land-ABL
ghazher-shi-la, land-VBLZR-PURP, settle
gher, fire
gher, go out/come out/go up/come up
gher, hand
gher-du, hand-DAT
gher-gha-ji, go out-CAUSE-IMPERF
gher-gha-ku, go out-CAUSE-IMPERF
gher-gha-ser, go out-CAUSE-PROG
gher-ji, go out-IMPERF
gher-kandu, hand-DAT
gher-ku, go out-IMPERF

gher-sang-sa, come out-PERF-ABL
ghuerluo, two
ghuerluo, with
ghuerluo-du, two-DAT
ghuerluo-la, two-COLL
ghuerluo-ni, two-ACC
ghula, two
ghula, with
gongjia-ni, the government-GEN; gongjia 公家
gua, modal particle
guang, not have
Guangfang, a Mangghuer village
guanxi-tai, connection-COM; guanxi 关系
gugu miawu, owl
gui, not have
guida, vanish
guida-ji, vanish-IMPERF
guida-ku, vanish-IMPERF
guida-sang, vanish-PERF
Guilan-ni, Guilan-GEN; Guilan, a female name
Guishan-tang-ni, Guishan-PL-GEN; Guishan, a Wenjia villager
guizhen, precious
guji, incense stick
guji, neck
guji-kandu, neck-DAT
guji-li, neck-VBLZR, wear around one's neck
guji-li-sang-ni, neck-VBLZR-PERF-NOMLZR
guojia-ni, country-GEN; guojia 国家
guori mian-du, other places-DAT
guori mian-ku, other places-IMPERF
guori, other
guori-ni, other-ASSOC
hahai, spider
hai dianqier, shoe-pads
hai, shoe
Hailong-tang-ni, Hailong-PL-GEN; Hailong, a Wenjia villager
haina, henna
Hainen-tang-ni, Hainen-PL-GEN; Hainen, a Wenjia villager
Haiquan-tang-ni, Haiquan-PL-GEN; Haiquan, a Wenjia villager
Haiyuan-tang-ni, Haiyuan-PL-GEN; Haiyuan, a Wenjia villager
hangbura, rest/stop
hangbura-gha, stop-CAUSE
hangbura-jiang, stop-OBJ:PERF
hangbura-ku, rest-IMPERF
hangbura-sang, rest-PERF
hangbura-sang-ni, rest-PERF-NOMLZR
hangtou-du, alley-DAT; hangtou, hangdao 巷道
hangtu, together
hanisigha, eyebrow

Hanshi-la, Hanshi-VBLZR, grave worship on Hanshi Day; Hanshi 寒食
he, take
hegang, heatable sleeping and eating platform
Heichi Ye, a deity in Sanchuan; ye 爷
he-ku, take-IMPERF
he-ku-la, take-IMPERF-INST
he-lang, take-OBJ:IMPERF
hen, strong/powerful
herbige, butterfly
herge, whirl/stroll/wander/turn
herge-ji, stroll-IMPERF
herge-ku-nang, turn-IMPERF-REFLPOSS
he-sang, take-PERF
he-sang-ni, take-PERF-NOMLZR
hongke, distinguish; hong, fen 分
hongti, sniff/smell
hongti-lang, smell-OBJ:IMPERF
hongti-sa, sniff-COND
hongti-sang-ni, sniff-PERF-NOMLZR
hu, beam
hu, give
hua, give
hua-ba, give-QUEST
huala, spirit mediums of local deities
huang, year
huang-du, year-DAT
hu-di, beam-DAT
hudu, very
huer, (animal) pen/sty/den/burrow/nest
huer, tomb
huerdai-ji, downward/south-DIR
hugu, die
hugu-ku, die-IMPERF
hu-jiang, give-OBJ:PERF
hulai-ra, red-become, become red
Hulang Duoruo, a Mangghuer village
hu-lang, give-OBJ:IMPERF
hulang, red
huliuliu, eagle
hunier, odor/smell
huoli, clan
huoli-ni, clan-GEN
huoluo, mix
huoluo-gha, mix-CAUSE
huoluo-la, mix-IMPERF
huoluo-lang, mix-OBJ:IMPERF
huoruo, wrap
huoruo-ji, wrap-IMPERF
huoruo-jiang, wrap-OBJ:PERF
huoruo-ku, wrap-IMPERF
huoruo-la, wrap-IMPERF
huoruo-lang, wrap-OBJ:IMPERF
huoxi-ni, congratulation-ASSOC; huoxi, hexi 贺喜
hu-sang-ni, give-PERF-NOMLZR

ji, look/watch/read
jiake, sandwiched/situated between; jia 夹
jiala, add; jia 加
jiala-jiang, add-OBJ:PERF
jiala-ser, add-PROG
jianjian-ni, each one-GEN, respective
jianke, pick up; jian 捡
jiaodong, dream
jiaoduer, every day
jiaojie-ku, boundary-IMPERF; jiaojie 交界
jiaoran, interact
jiaori, scorch
jiari, kill/slaughter
jiari, use
jiari-der, use-person, servants or concubines who do field or sheep-herding work
jiari-ji, use-IMPERF
jiari-jiang, use-OBJ:PERF
jiari-ku, use-IMPERF
jiari-ku-ni, use-IMPERF-NOMLZR
jiari-ku-si, use-IMPERF-PL
jiari-lang, use-OBJ:IMPERF
jiari-sang, use-PERF
jiawu, clan
jiawu-ku, clan-IMPERF
jiazhi-si-ni, value-PL-ACC; jiazhi 价值
jidian-di, what time-DAT; jidian 几点
jiebudie, get rusty
jielie, receive; jie 接
jielie-gu, receive-IMPERF; jie 接
jielie-la, receive-PURP; jie 接
Jielong, a Mangghuer village
jie-nang, self-REFLPOSS
jie-ni, self-GEN
jiergha, continue/connect
jiergha-ji, continue-IMPERF
jie-si-nang, self-PL-REFLPOSS
jie-si-ni, self-PL-GEN
ji-ku, look-IMPERF
ji-la, record-PURP; ji 记
ji-la-ji, record-PURP-IMPERF; ji 记
Jilin-tang-ni, Jilin-PL-GEN; Jilin, a Wenjia villager
jinji shibao, peacock or phoenix; jinji 金鸡/锦鸡
Jinlongbao-tang-ni, Jinlongbao-PL-GEN; Jinlongbao, a Wenjia villager
Jinyuan-tang-ni, Jinyuan-PL-GEN; Jinyuan, a Wenjia villager
jiura, between/among
jiura, time
jiura-du, between/among-DAT
jiura-ku, between/among-IMPERF
jiura-ni, between/among-ACC
kai, wind
kaker, baked pancake

kaker-di, baked pancake-DAT
kaker-nang, baked pancake-REFLPOSS
kan, who
kan-du, who-DAT
kangla, bake; kang 炕
kangla-sang, bake-PERF; kang 炕
kao bieri, son's wife, daughter-in-law
kao, son
kaoke, pass an examination; kao 考
kaoke-ku, pass an examination-IMPERF; kao 考
kaola, rely on; kao 靠
kaola-ku-nang, rely on-IMPERF-REFLPOSS; kao 靠
kaola-sang, rely on-PERF; kao 靠
kedu, how many/how much
keji, when
keli, say/speak
keli-ji, say/speak-IMPERF
keli-ku, say/speak-IMPERF
keli-ku-ni, say/speak-IMPERF-NOMLZR
keli-la, say/speak-IMPERF
keli-la, say/speak-PURP
keli-lang, say/speak-OBJ:IMPERF
keli-qing, speak-person, speaker
keneng-tai, possibility-COM; keneng 可能
kerla, toss/throw
kerli, ask for/require
kerli-ku-nang, require-IMPERF-REFLPOSS
kezhi, step on
kezhi-sang-ni, step on-PERF-NOMLZR
khaber, nose
khaber-kandu, nose-DAT
khaila, yell/shout
khailasi, elm tree
khaiqi ger, scissor sheath
khaiqi, scissors
khaleng, warm
khaleng-ni, warm-ASSOC
khama, matter
khamu, all
khanzhawar, walnut shell
khara, black
khara-la, black-become, become black
khari, return
kheghai, pig/swine
khejia, leave
khejia-ji, leave-IMPERF
khejia-sang-ni, leave-PERF-NOMLZR
khere, event/issue
khergha, near
khergha-du, near-DAT
khergha-ku, near-IMPERF
kherghana, mouse
khezhighe, return gift
khuainuo, after
khuainuo-ku, after-IMPERF

khuainuoshi, later/afterwards
Khuaiter, a Mangghuer village
khuer huoro, foot binding
khuer, foot
khuer-kandu, foot-DAT
khuermo, Mangghuer women's skirts
khuer-nang, foot-REFLPOSS
khuer-ni, foot-GEN
khuer-ni, foot-NOMLZR
khuleghesi, bamboo
khuoluo, far/distant
khuoni, sheep
khuorang, courtyard
khuorang-du, courtyard-DAT
khureng, banquet
khureng-ni, banquet-ASSOC
khureng-qi, banquet-person, bride's escorts
khurong, banquet
khurong-qi, banquet-person, bride's escorts
khuzhu, snout
khuzhutai hai, shoe with snout, shoes for women's bound feet
khuzhu-tai, snout-COM
kong, person
kong, time
kong-du, time-DAT
kong-la, person-COM
kong-ni, person-GEN
kong-si, person-PL
kong-si-du, person-PL-DAT
kong-si-nang, person-PL-REFLPOSS
kuangan, light
kudier, lead
kudier-qing, lead-person
kuer, arrive
kuergan, husband
kuerge, bridge
kuer-ji, arrive-IMPERF
kuer-jiang, arrive-OBJ:PERF
kuer-ku, arrive-IMPERF
kuerniege, brewer's yeast
kuer-sa, arrive-COND
kuer-ser, arrive-PROG
kuguo, blue
kuguo-ni, blue-ASSOC
kugu-ru, blue-become, become blue, get bruised
kuicheng-du, custom/tradition-DAT; kuicheng, guicheng 规程
kuicheng-nang, custom/tradition-REFLPOSS; kuicheng, guicheng 规程
kuicheng-ni, custom/tradition-ACC; kuicheng, guicheng 规程
kuicheng-si, custom/tradition-PL; kuicheng, guicheng 规程
kuicheng-si-ni; custom/tradition-PL-ACC; kuicheng, guicheng 规程
kuji, strength
kujier, ground of a room
kuo-gha, angry-CAUSE

la, become
la, weep/cry
lai, do not
lama, Tibetan Buddhist monk
lama-si, Tibetan Buddhist monk-PL
lan, scripture
lang'huo, bottle
laosa, mule
lianbie, cover (on the body)
lianbie-ger, cover (on the body)-thing, bedding
liangtian-sa, two days-ABL
lier, with
lihu, very/too
liula, preserve/remain; liu 留
liula-ji, preserve-IMPERF; liu 留
liusui-di-sa, age of six-DAT-ABL; liusui 六岁
lu, dragon
lu, find/get/obtain
luchu, stone roller for threshing grain
lu-jiang, find/get/obtain-OBJ:PERF
luke, record; lu 录
ma, and
ma, PRT
mali, quick
Mangghuer, a branch of the Tu ethnic group dwelling in Minhe County, Qinghai Province and their language
Mangghuer-la, Mangghuer-INST
Mangghuer-ni, Mangghuer-GEN
Mani Buleghe, Mani Spring, a spring in Wenjia Village
Mani Ganben, a Chinese Buddhist scripture in Chinese characters
Mani Ghazher, Auspicious Land/Blessed Land, another name for Sanchuan
mani tuoluo, chant mani
mani, prayer beads
mani-qi, mani-person, people who chant mani
manlai, forehead
manlai-kandu, forehead-DAT
manlai-li, forehead-VBLZR, hold on the forehead
manlai-li-sang-ni, forehead-VBLZR-PERF-NOMLZR
mao tiandighe, bad omen
mao yama, bad thing, evil spirits
mao, bad
maodan, ball
maodan, flower
meghe, village
meidie, know
meidie-ji, know-IMPERF
meidie-jiang, know-OBJ:PERF
meidie-ku, know-IMPERF
meidie-ku-ni, know-IMPERF-NOMLZR

meidie-nia, know-SUBJ:FUT
meidie-qing, know-person, someone who understands
Meiguo-ni, America-GEN; Meiguo 美国
mergha, hat
mermer-jia, slow-COMP
mershida, forget
mershida-ji, forget-IMPERF
mershida-jiang, forget-OBJ:PERF
miangu zer, silver hairpin; zer, zan 簪
miangu, silver
miangu-ni, silver-GEN
mian-ku, place-IMPERF
miaoke, taste
miao-ku, temple-IMPERF; miao 庙
mieran, river
mieshi, before/front/former
mieshi-ge, former-one
mieshi-her, before-COMP
mieshi-ku, front-IMPERF
Minzhu Ghuer, Minzhu Valley, an area in Sanchuan; minzhu 民主
minzu-la, minzu-INST; minzu 民族
minzu-nang, minzu-REFLPOSS; minzu 民族
minzu-ni, minzu-GEN; minzu 民族
minzu-si-ni, minzu-PL-GEN; minzu 民族
mixiqin, monkey
moghuoling, round
moghuoling-her, round-COMP
moghuoling-ni, round-ASSOC
Mojie Longwang, a deity in Sanchuan; longwang 龙王
Mojie Ye, a deity in Sanchuan; ye 爷
Mongghul, a branch of the Tu ethnic group dwelling in Huzhu County and Datong County (Qinghai Province), Tianzhu County (Gansu Province) and their language
Mongghuor, a Mongolic language extensively documented in the early twentieth century by Belgian missionaries; speakers of Mongghuor have not been identified
Monguor, another name for the Tu ethnic group
moran, river
Moran, the Yellow River
Moran-ni, Moran-GEN; Moran, the Yellow River
Moran-sa, Moran-ABL; Moran, the Yellow River
mori kudier-qing, horse lead-person, bridetaker
mori, horse
mori-ni, horse-ACC
moshengren-ni, stranger-GEN; moshengren 陌生人

mughashi, tomorrow
mula aba, father's younger brothers
mula ana, wives of father's younger brothers
mula khuer, small feet, women's bound feet
mula pujighe, pea
mula, small/young
mula, think
mula-dada, small-indeed, very small
mula-da-ge, small-indeed-ADV
muladi, father's younger brothers
mula-ji, think-IMPERF
mulana, wives of father's younger brothers
mula-nang, children-REFLPOSS
mula-ni, small-GEN
mula-nia, think-SUBJ:FUT
mula-ni-si, young-GEN-PL
mula-si-ni, young-PL-ACC
mu-ni, 1:SG-GEN, my
mushi-ku-si, read-IMPERF-PL
musi-ku, wear-IMPERF
Nadun, a Mangghuer festival celebrating a good harvest
naghu, can
Nandou-ni, the Southern Dipper-GEN; Nandou 南斗
nanguo-ruo-sang, sad-become-PERF; nanguo 难过
Nanjia Khuzhu, a Mangghuer village; Nanjia, Anjia 安家
nanxin, poor
nanxin, sadness/hardship
nanxin-nang, sadness/hardship-REFLPOSS
nao, look/watch
nao-ku, watch-IMPERF
nara, sun
naramu, foxtail millet, 谷子
nasi, age
nasi-tai, age-COM
nazher, warm season
nazher-du, warm season-DAT
Neimenggu-ni, Inner Mongolia-GEN; Neimenggu 内蒙古
ner, sleep
ner-nang, sleep-REFLPOSS
ni, this
nia, SUBJ:FUT
niana, paternal grandmother
nian-sa, year-ABL; nian 年
niaoduer, today
nie huang, this year
niebie, now
niebie-ku, now-IMPERF
niebie-ku-sa, now-IMPERF-ABL
niebie-la, now-INST
niere, name
niere-la, name-INST

niere-tai, name-COM, famous
niezhang, pitiful/poor
nige, one/this one
nikai, sheepskin robe
ni-ker, this-COMP
ning-beida-ku-si, this-side-IMPERF-PL
ning-da, this-kind, such
ning-da-ge, this-kind-SG:INDEF
ning-ge, this-do
ning-ge-ji, this-QUOTE-IMPERF
ning-ge-ku, this-do-IMPERF
ningger-si, old woman-PL
ning-ge-sa, this-do-COND
ning-ge-sang, this-do-PERF
ning-ku, this-IMPERF, then
ning-sa, this-ABL
ningtaige-jia, so many-COMP
nini, granny/paternal grandmother
ni-ni, this-ACC
ni-si-ni, this-PL-ACC
nixier, earring
nudu, eye
nudu-kandu, eye-DAT
nudu-li, eye-VBLZR, see/watch
nudu-li-sang-ni, eye-VBLZR-PERF-NOMLZR
nudu-ni, eye-POSS
nuer, face
nuer-ni, face-ACC
nuer-si-ni, face-PL-ACC
nukuer ber, friend become, help
nukuer, friend
nuoghuang, green
nuoghuo-ruo, green-become, become green
Nuojie, a Mangghuer village
nuoqi, pass
nuoqier, thunderstorm
nuoqi-ku, pass-IMPERF
nuoqi-lang, pass-OBJ:IMPERF
nuru, back
nuru-kandu, back-DAT
nuru-li, back-VBLZR, carry on the back
nuru-li-sang-ni, back-VBLZR-PERF-NOMLZR
pandai, drum
pangenla-gha-ku, thunder-CAUSE-IMPERF
panluerdu, mix
panluo, stir/mix
panluo-gu, stir/mix-IMPERF
perghang, deity
perghang-si-nang, deity-PL-REFLPOSS
pobu, lung
pudeng, complete
pujighe, bean
pujighe, script/character
pujighe-la, script/character-INST
pujighe-ni, script/character-ACC
pujighe-ni, script/character-GEN

pujighe-qi, script/character-person, literate person/scholar
pujighe-qi-si, script/character-person-PL
pujighe-tai, script/character-COM
pula-ku, place-IMPERF; pu 铺
puza, more/again
puzhang, be not
puzher, boil
puzher-sang suzu, boil-PERF water, boiled water
puzher-sang, boil-PERF
puzuo, a type of fried bread
qi, 2:SG, you
qi, person
qiake, pinch; qia 掐
Qidai, the Han Chinese people and their language
Qidai-la, Chinese-INST
Qidai-ni, Chinese-GEN
Qidai-sa, the Han people-ABL
Qidai-si, the Han people-PL
Qierji Mieran, Qierji River, a river in a Mangghuer wedding song
qier-ni, money-ACC; qier, qian 钱
qier-ni, money-GEN; qier, qian 钱
qietu, (color) bright
qige, ear
qige, see
qigejier, traditional Manghuer women's hats
qige-kandu, ear-DAT
qige-ku, see-IMPERF
qige-la, see-IMPERF
qige-lang, see-OBJ:IMPERF
qige-sang, see-PERF
qijighe, flower
qijighe-tai, flower-COM
qila, pull up; qi 起
qimei, 2:SG:DAT
qimei-du, 2:SG:DAT-DAT
qimei-sa, 2:SG:DAT-ABL
qing, person
Qing'hai, Qinghai 青海
qing-ni, clear-ASSOC
qi-ni, 2:SG-GEN, your
qinzi-ni, wive of maternal uncle-POSS; qinzi, jinzi 妗子
ra, become
re alima, apricot
ri, come
ri-ji, come-IMPERF
ri-jiang, come-OBJ:PERF
ri-ku, come-IMPERF
ri-lang, come-OBJ:IMPERF
ri-sa, come-COND
ri-sang, come-PERF
ri-sang-la, come-PERF-INST
ri-sang-ni, come-PERF-NOMLZR
ru, become
ruang, place
ruang-du, place-DAT
ruo, become
sa, do/make

sai, NEG
saijira, get wealthy
saizhuer, steamed stuffed dumpling; sai, cai 菜
sala, throw away; sa 撒
sala-ku, throw away-IMPERF; sa 撒
sana, miss
sana-ji, miss-IMPERF
sana-ku, miss-IMPERF
Sanchuan-du, Sanchuan-DAT; Sanchuan 三川
Sanchuan-ni, Sanchuan-GEN; Sanchuan 三川
Sanchuan-sa, Sanchuan-ABL; Sanchuan 三川
saner, thought
saner-du-nang, thought-DAT-REFLPOSS
Sangbura Aruer, Sangbura River
Sangbura, a Mangghuer village
sanggha, lose
sanggha-ge, lose-do
sanggha-sang, lose-PERF
sangmula, comb
sangpusighe, garlic
sao, sit/stay
sao-ji, sit/stay-IMPERF
sao-jiang, sit-OBJ:PERF
sao-ku, sit-IMPERF
sao-ku-ni, sit-IMPERF-NOMLZR
sao-lang, sit-OBJ:IMPERF
sao-nu, stay-OBJ:COP:QUEST
sao-sang, sit-PERF
sao-ser, sit-PROG
Saotuer Aruer, a village in Sanchuan
Saotuer, the Hui people
sara, moon
sarang-ni, moon-GEN
sara-qi, moon-person, postpartum woman
sa-sang hai, do-PERF shoe, handmade shoes
sa-sang, do-PERF
sazhighai, magpie
Serber Wula, Serber Mountain, a mountain in a Mangghuer wedding song
serghai, left
sha tuerma, carrot
sha, PRT
sha, yellow
sha-la, yellow-become, become yellow
sha-la-ku, yellow-become-IMPERF
Shancheng Wula, Shancheng Mountain; Shancheng 山城
Shangdang, Mangghuer married women's hairstyles
shang'huo, writing brush
shang'huo-ni, writing brush-GEN
shangke, taste; shang, chang 尝

shangkuo, thin baked or fried rhombus-shaped pancakes burned for the deceased
shangla-ku, place-IMPERF
Shangtang, a Mangghuer village
shangtu, Mangghuer married women's hairstyles
shangwu, lunch
sha-ni, yellow-ASSOC
shanzi ger, fan case; shanzi 扇子
shenge, seem like
shengke, born; sheng 生
shengke-sang, born-PERF
sheng-ni, province-GEN; sheng 省
shengyin-ni, sound-ACC; shengyin 声音
shengyin-si, sound-PL; shengyin 声音
shibao, bird
shidie, early
shidie-tai, early-COM
shidie-te, early-COM
shi'er yangzi-ni, twelve kind-ASSOC; shi'er 十二; yangzi 样子
shige, seem like
shighai, leg
shighai-nang, leg-REFLPOSS
shijie-du, time-DAT; shijie 时节
shijie-sa, time-ABL; shijie 时节
shinagu, married woman
shinajia, sister-in-law
shini shinagu, new woman, bride
shini, laugh/smile
shini, new
shinia, wedge
shiquan-ni xi, ten completeness-ASSOC banquet; shiquan 十全; xi 席
shiri, a low square table usually placed on a kang; kang 炕
shiri, fry
Shirongol, another name for Mangghuer
shizhang, wool felt
shouke-ni duer, receive guest-ASSOC day; shouke 收客
shouke-ni, receive guest-ASSOC; shouke 收客
shoupaguer, Mangghuer married women's headdress
shouqing-la-gu, blaze-IMPERF-IMPERF
shuashuayer, swallow
shu-di, book-DAT; shu 书
shu-di-her, book-DAT-COMP; shu 书
shu-di-nang, book-DAT-REFLPOSS; shu 书
shuduer, long
shuer, chopstick
shu'er, words or songs of blessing

shuerke-ku-sa, lose-IMPERF-ABL
shuer-la, chopstick-INST
shuer-nang, chopstick-REFLPOSS
shuguaba, father's older brothers and older paternal male cousins
shuguada, father's older brothers and older paternal male cousins
shuguadi, father's older brothers and older paternal male cousins
shuguaidi, gate of the courtyard
shuguaidi-ni, gate of the courtyard-ACC
shuguana, wives of father's older brothers and older paternal male cousins
shuguer pujighe, broad bean
shuguo khuer, big foot, unbound foot
shuguo shibao, big bird, vulture
shuguo, big/old
shuguo-ni, big-GEN
shuguo-ni-si, old-GEN-PL
shuguo-tu-jiang, big-become-OBJ:PERF
shuguo-tu-ku, big-become-IMPERF
shu-ha, book-OBJ; shu 书
shulian-ku-ni, evening-IMPERF-NOMLZR
shulian-ni, nighttime-GEN
shu-nang, book-REFLPOSS; shu 书
shu-ni, book-ACC; shu 书
shurberji, swing
shuru, bead
shushumiu, corn
Siber Wula, Siber Mountain, a mountain in a Mangghuer wedding song
Sibu Wula, Sibu Mountain, a mountain in a Mangghuer wedding song
Sibur Wula, Sibur Mountain, a mountain in a Mangghuer wedding song
sigha yizi, buckwheat husk
sigha, buckwheat
Suber Wula, Suber Mountain, a mountain in a Mangghuer wedding song
Suber Wula-ni, Suber Mountain-GEN
Suber-ni, Suber-ASSOC
subuduer naoder, Mangghuer married women's headdress
suchang-du, daily-DAT; suchang 素常
suer, learn
suer, pour
suer-gha-nu, learn-CAUSE-OBJ:COP:QUEST
suer-jiang, learn-OBJ:PERF
suer-ku, learn-IMPERF
suer-lang, learn-OBJ:IMPERF
suer-sang, learn-PERF

suguo, axe
suguo, scold
suguo-lang, scold-OBJ:IMPERF
suila, follow/imitate; sui 随
sunisi, soul
sunzi xijun, granddaughter; sunzi 孙子
Suojie Ye, a deity in Sanchuan; ye 爷
suoluozhuer nixier, long silver earring
suoni, night
suoni-ni, night-GEN
suonuosi, hear
suonuosi-sang-ni, hear-PERF-NOMLZR
suoruo, clan
suoruo-ni, clan-GEN
suzu, hair
suzu, water
suzuzhuer, hair ends
tang luopu, sugarbeet; tang 糖; luopu, luobo 萝卜
tani, know/recognize
taolai, rabbit
tari, plant
tari-la, plant-IMPERF
ta-si, 2:SG-PL, you
ta-si-ni, 2:SG-PL-ACC
tazi, wooden roof decking
teghao, chicken
terghai, head/top
terghai-kandu, head-DAT
terghai-sa, head-ABL
terghuo dasi, silk thread
terghuo, silk
ti, that
tiandighe, omen
tiangere, sky
tiaoshi, copper
Tiebie, Tibet/Tibetan
tiedong, ancient times/old days
tiedong-du, ancient times-DAT
tiedong-ku, ancient times-IMPERF
tiedong-ku-la, old days-IMPERF-INST
tiedong-sa, ancient times-ABL
Tiegong, a Mangghuer village
tiejie, feed
tiejie-la, feed-IMPERF
tiemie, camel
tierber, embrace in the arms
tiker-nang, that-REFLPOSS
tila, share burden/work for others; ti 替
tila-nu, share-OBJ:COP:QUEST; ti 替
ting-sa, ABL
ti-si-ni, that-PL-ACC
tu, become
tuduruo, inside
tuer, give birth
tuerber, wart
tuerha, pillar
tuerha-di, pillar-DAT
tuerma, turnip
tughurong, wild goose
tuguerge, hasp

Tuhua-du, Tu language-DAT; Tuhua 土话
Tuhua-ku, Tu language-IMPERF; Tuhua 土话
Tuhua-la, Tu language-INST; Tuhua 土话
Tuhua-nang, Tu language-REFLPOSS; Tuhua 土话
Tuhua-ni, Tu language-ACC; Tuhua 土话
tula, even
tulong, animal skin bag
Tumin-du, Tu people-DAT; Tumin 土民
Tumin-ni, Tu people-GEN; Tumin 土民
Tumin-si, Tu people-PL; Tumin 土民
Tumin-si-la, Tu people-PL-INST; Tumin 土民
Tumin-si-ni, Tu people-PL-GEN; Tumin 土民
tuoluo, count/chant
tuosi, oil
Tuyu-du, Tu language-DAT; Tuyu 土语
Tuyu-ni, Tu language-ACC; Tuyu 土语
Tuyu-ni, Tu language-GEN; Tuyu 土语
tuza, benefit
tuza-la-jiang, benefit-IMPERF-OBJ:PERF
Tuzu-ni, Tu ethnic group-GEN; Tuzu 土族
wa, PRT
waliuguer, handmade socks with embroidery on the heels and bottoms
wan, QUEST
Wangjiler, a Mangghuer village
Wangshighuer, a Mangghuer village
warzhighe, porcelain
warzhighe-ni, porcelain-GEN
weididi, maternal grandfather
weiduer, Mangghuer women's embroidered aprons
weinini, maternal grandmother
weishi, condition/point
weishi-du, condition/point-DAT
Wen Yingfu-tang-ni, Wen Yingfu-PL-GEN; Wen Yingfu, a Wenjia villager
wenduer, tall/high
Wenjia Ximian, Wenjia Monastery; Wenjia 文家
Wenjia Ximie, Wenjia Monastery; Wenjia 文家
Wenjia-ni, Wenjia-GEN; Wenjia 文家
wobo, cairn
woduzi, men's embroidered sashes with a pocket in the front
wosi, grow up
wosi-sang-ni, grow up-PERF-NOMLZR

wu, drink
Wucheng-tang-ni, Wucheng-PL-GEN; Wucheng, a Wenjia villager
wuda, late
wuda, long time
wuda-jiang, late-OBJ:PERF
wudang, slow
wudang-du, slow-DAT
wuda-sang, long time-PERF
wuderer, daytime
wuderer-ni, daytime-GEN
wuge keli, speak words
wuge, language
wuge-du, language-DAT
wuge-ku, language-IMPERF
wuge-la, language-INST
wuge-nang, language-REFLPOSS
wuge-ni, language-ACC
wuge-ni, language-GEN
wuge-ni-gher, language-ASSOC-hand
wuge-sa, language-ABL
wuge-si, language-PL
wuge-si-du, language-PL-DAT
wu-gha, drink-CAUSE
wuguang, not have
wugu-ni, five grains-GEN; wugu 五谷
wuji, look/watch/read
wuji-ku, look-IMPERF
wuji-qing, read-person, reader
wula, mountain
wulai, do not
wulan, many
wulan-her, many-COMP
wulan-ni, many-ASSOC
wulanqi, most
wulan-tu, many-become
wulan-tu-gha-jiang, many-become-CAUSE-OBJ:PERF
wulan-tu-jiang, many-become-OBJ:PERF
wurengreng, dragonfly
wuruang, place
wuruang-du, place-DAT
wuruang-du-nang, place-DAT-REFLPOSS
wuruang-ku, place-IMPERF
wuruang-nang, place-REFLPOSS
wuruang-ni, place-GEN
wuruang-sa, place-ABL
wuruang-si-ku, place-PL-IMPERF
wuruang-si-ni, place-PL-ACC
wuruo, come into
wuruo, relative/guest
wuruo-ji, come into-IMPERF
wuruo-ni, relative-GEN
Wushi Ghuer, Wushi Valley, an area in Sanchuan
Wushi, a Mangghuer village
Wushighuer Ximie, Wushi Valley Monastery
xi, go
xian-du, reason-DAT
Xianglin-tang-ni, Xianglin-PL-GEN; Xianglin, a Wenjia villager

xiangxi-da, detailed-indeed; xiangxi 详细
xianjin, (color) bright; xian 鲜
xian-ni; county-GEN; xian 县
xianren-si-nang, ancestor-PL-REFLPOSS; xianren 先人
xianren-si-ni, ancestor-PL-GEN; xianren 先人
Xicheng-ni, Xicheng-GEN; Xicheng, a Wenjia villager
Xicheng-tang-ni, Xicheng-PL-GEN; Xicheng, a Wenjia villager
xida, burn
xida-ji, burn-IMPERF
xidera, be like, resemble
xidera-ji, be like-IMPERF
xidera-ku, be like-IMPERF
xidier, grow old
xidier-sang, grow old-PERF
xi-gha-jiang, go-CAUSE-OBJ:PERF
xi-gha-ku, go-CAUSE-IMPERF
xi-gha-sang-ni, go-CAUSE-PERF-NOMLZR
xi-gha-ser, go-CAUSE-PROG
xi-gha-sha, go-CAUSE-PRT
xi-gu, go-IMPERF
xi-ji, go-IMPERF
xijiao, stomach
xijuesi bughe, willow tree
xijuesi, willow
xijun diao, younger sisters
xijun, daughter
xijunkong, woman
xijunkong-si, woman-PL
xijun-sa-nang, daughter-ABL-REFLPOSS
xi-ku, go-IMPERF
xi-ku-ni, go-IMPERF-NOMLZR
xi-lang, go-OBJ:IMPERF
ximian, monastery
ximian-ku, monastery-IMPERF
ximie, monastery
xi-ni, go-SUBJ:FUT
xi-qing, go-person
xiudier, shadow
xiudier-seng-sa-nang, shadow-PL-ABL-REFLPOSS
xiuke, build; xiu 修
xiuke, get rusty; xiu 锈
xiuke-ku, build-IMPERF; xiu 修
Xiying-tang-ni, Xiying-PL-GEN; Xiying, a Wenjia villager
xuanke-ji, whirl-IMPERF; xuan 旋
xue-du, school-DAT; xue 学
xueku niere, school name/official name; xue 学
xuexiao-du, school-DAT; xuexiao 学校
ya, VOL
ya, what
yada, tired
yada-ji, tired-IMPERF

ya-ge, what-do
ya-ge-ji, what-do-IMPERF, what happened
ya-ji, what-IMPERF, what happened
yala, why/what
yama, meal
yama, object/thing
yamer, how/what
yamer-da, what-kind
yamer-da-ge, what-kind-SG:INDEF
yang, any
yang, what
yangbughang, millstone
Yangguru Danjian, a deity in Sanchuan
yang-ni, any-GEN
yangshi-di, world-DAT; yangshi 阳世
yangshi-di-ku, world-DAT-IMPERF; yangshi 阳世
yangshi-ni, world-GEN; yangshi 阳世
yangyang-ni, every kind-ACC; yangyang 样样
ya-ni, what-SUBJ:FUT
yanjia, 1:SG, I
yanjia, funeral lamentation
yanjia-nang, I-REFLPOSS
yanjia-ni, I-GEN, my
yanjiu ge-qing, study/research do-person, researcher; yanjiu 研究
yao, go/walk
yaogha, heat (oil)
yao-gha-sang tuosi, heat-CAUSE-PERF oil, heated oil
yao-gha-sang, heat-CAUSE-PERF
yao-ji, go-IMPERF
yao-jiang, go-OBJ:PERF
yao-ku, go-IMPERF
yao-la, go-IMPERF
yao-lang, go-OBJ:IMPERF
yao-nia, go-SUBJ:FUT
yao-nu, go-OBJ:COP:QUEST
yao-sa, go-COND
yara, sore
yerri, look for/search for
Yesujiao-ni, Christianity-ACC; Yesu 耶稣
Yesujiao-sa, Christianity-ABL; Yesu 耶稣
yibei-sa, one generation-ABL; yibei 一辈
yidai-ni, area/region-GEN; yidai 一带
yidi, door
yidi, eat
yidian-ni, door-GEN
yidi-la, eat-PURP
yigha, bowl
yigua, all
yihou, bridal lamentation
yijia yijia, each other
yijia yijia-ni, each other-GEN
yila, weep/cry
yila-gha-ni, cry-CAUSE-SUBJ:FUT
yima tulong, goatskin bag
yima, goat

yimeghe, village
yimeghe-du-nang, village-DAT-REFLPOSS
yimeghe-ku, village-IMPERF
Yindong Ghuer, Silver Cave Valley; yindong 银洞
Yingzhong-tang-ni, Yingzhong-PL-GEN; Yingzhong, a Wenjia villager
yin-ha, silver-OBJ; yin 银
yinyang-ni, Taoist priest-GEN; yinyang 阴阳
yiqian-du, before-DAT; yiqian 以前
yiri, come
yiri-sa, come-COND
yisi-ni, meaning-ACC; yisi 意思
yitian-ni, one day-GEN; yitian 一天
yizhuer, completely
yizi, grain husk
yo, PRT
youkhang, what
youxier, elm tree; you, yu 榆
yuanlai-ku, origin-IMPERF; yuanlai 原来
yuanyin-la, reason-INST; yuanyin 原因
zaihang, beautiful/pretty
zaihang-ni, beautiful-NOMLZR
zaila, plant; zai 栽
zaila-ku, plant-IMPERF; zai 栽
zandan-ni, sandalwood-GEN; zandan 栴檀, 旃檀
zangnang-ra, dirty-be, become dirty; zang 脏
zangnang-ra-gha-ji, dirty-be-CAUSE-IMPERF; zang 脏
zangnang-ra-lang, dirty-be-OBJ:IMPERF; zang 脏
zaohang-du, kitchen-DAT; zaohang, zaofang 灶房
zhabang, (color) plain
zhagha, upward/north
zhagha-ji, upward/north-DIR
zhang, just
zhangzeng, good
zhanke, occupy/conquer; zhan 占
zhanke-ku-sa, occupy-IMPERF-ABL; zhan 占
zhaoxiang-di-ku, photo-DAT-IMPERF; zhaoxiang 照相
zheke, uncover/lift
zhen shuru, real bead, bead made of red coral; zhen 真
zhengla, earn; zheng 挣
zhengla-la, earn-PURP; zheng 挣
Zhongguo-ni, China-GEN; Zhongguo 中国
zhongzhuer-du, liquor cup-DAT; zhong 盅
zhoujia, heel
zhoujia-nang, heel-REFLPOSS
zhuangjia-qi, crop-person, peasant

zhuangjia-qi-si, crop-person-PL, peasants
zhuanjia-si, specialist-PL; zhuanjia 专家
zhuer, zodiac symbol
zhuguer, just/only
zhuguer-ge, just/only-SG:INDEF
Zhujia Aruer, Zhujia River; Zhujia 朱家
Zhujia Ximian, Zhujia Monastery; Zhujia 朱家
Zhujia Ximie, Zhujia Monastery; Zhujia 朱家
zhula, lamp
Zhuma Cheng, Zhuma City, a city in a Mangghuer wedding song; cheng 城
zhuo, wear
zhuobo, work/labor
zhuobo-ji, work/labor-IMPERF
zhuobulang, pressure/responsibility/task/burden
zhuobulang-ni, burden-ACC
zhuolian, soft/filial
zhuolia-ni, soft/filial-ASSOC
zhuru, write
zhuru-ji, wirte-IMPERF
zhuru-jiang, write-OBJ:PERF
zhuru-sang, write-PERF
zhuru-sang-ni, write-PERF-NOMLZR
zhuru-ser, write-PROG
zhutu, zodiac animal
ziliao-ni, material-ACC; ziliao 资料

a 啊
aba 阿爸
ada 阿大
A'erbei De Simeite 阿尔贝·德·斯梅特, Antoine Mostaert
agu 阿姑
ai hai yo 哎咳哟
ai 哎
ajiu 阿舅
Antuowan Mosita'er 安托万·莫斯塔尔, Antoine Mostaert
atai 阿太
aye 阿爷
ayi 阿姨
ayihu, ayifu 阿姨夫
baba 爸爸
babao 八宝
Badashan 八大山
Badong Shenxian 八洞神仙
Bai Liuhua 白六花
Baijia 白家
baitang 拜堂
baku nainai 把库奶奶
Bao Yizhi 鲍义志
bao 保
Bao'an 保安 (族)
baogu 苞谷
baohu 保护
Baojia Shawar, Baojia Shawo 鲍家沙窝
Baojia 鲍家
baotou 包头
baozi 包子
bashi 八十
baxian 八仙
ba 把
bei bange 北半个
bei 呗
Beidou 北斗
Beijing Cheng 北京城
beitian, baitian 百天
bianfu 蝙蝠
Bilishi 比利时
bing 兵
bingtong zainan 病痛灾难
bosai, baocai 菠菜
bu 堡
cai 菜
changming beisui, changming baisui 长命百岁
Cheng Liang 成亮
cheng 成
Chenggen 城根
Chinghai, Qinghai 青海
chongsun 重孙
chu 出
chuan 川
chuandao 川道
Chuankou 川口
chuanzi 椽子
chuban 出版
chunshe 春社
chuyi 初一
cu guan, qu guan 娶倌, bridetaker
cu 醋
da 大

dagai 大概
dahu 大户
dajia 大家
Damajia 大马家
dan (一) 旦, if
Dangwu, Duanwu 端午
dangzhong 当中
Danhejia 大河家
danshi 但是
Danyang Bu 丹阳堡
Danyang Gongzhu 丹阳公主
Daojiao 道教
Datong 大通
daxue 大学
dayan 大雁
Dazhuang 大庄
Dazizhuang 鞑子庄
Deilingka, Delingha 德令哈
Deng Yulong 邓玉龙
Dengjia 邓家
dianshi 电视
diaocha 调查
dixing, dixiong 弟兄
dizi 底子, deity's spirit
dongguo 冬果, pear
dongxia changqing 冬夏长青
Dongxiang 东乡 (族)
dou 斗
Doujia 窦家
dui 堆
duo 多
Ejia 鄂家
Eluosi 俄罗斯
er 二
Erfang 二房
Erlang Ye 二郎爷
ershi 二十
fangfa 方法
fangmian 方面
fangshu 房数
fanyi 翻译
fashi 法师
fei 肺
feng'huang 凤凰
fenxi 分析
Fojiao 佛教
fu 富
fu 福
gaba 尕爸
gaitou 盖头
gaizi, jiezi 芥子, oil-seed rape
Gangou 甘沟
Ganjia 甘家
Gansu 甘肃
gao 高
gaohu 告户
gaolou dasha 高楼大厦
gaoyan 高言
gaozhong 高中
ge 个
ge 各
gege 哥哥
Gelao 仡佬 (族)
Geligeli Nigulayeweiqi Botaning 格里戈里·尼古拉耶维奇·波塔宁, Grigorij Nikolaevich Potanin
Genshou 根寿
genzi 根子
gezhong 各种
gezi, jiaozi 角子
Gong feng tian di ri yue shen fo zhi wei 供奉天地日月神佛之位

gongjia 公家
gongsheng 贡生
gongzuo 工作
gou 沟
gu 鼓
gua 挂
guan 官
Guandi Miao 关帝庙
Guang'hua Si 光华寺
Guangxu 光武
guanli 管理
Guanting Bu 官亭堡
Guanting Zhen 官亭镇
Guanting 官亭
guanxi 关系
gui 柜
guitai 柜台
guizi 柜子
guojia 国家
Guojia 郭家
guoyu 过雨
Ha Majia, Xia Majia 下马家
Hachuan, Xiachuan 下川
Hai Mude 海慕德
Hai Yingguang 海映光
Haidong 海东
Haizhongyin 海忠银
Han 汉 (族)
han, hai 还
Hani 哈尼 (族)
hanisigha 眉毛
Hanjiashan 韩家山
Hanshi 寒食
hanshi, haishi 还是
hao 好
haoduo 好多
Haojia, Houjia 侯家
heifan 黑饭, supper 晚饭
Hejia 何家
Hezhou Cheng 河州城
hong'huang, fenghuang 凤凰
Hongtai 红台
Hongwu 洪武
hongzhan 红毡
hou 后
hou 猴
houhuayuan 后花园
houyan, houyuan 后院
hua er 花儿, love song
hua 花
huahongxian 花红线
huangduer, huangdou 黄豆
huanggua 黄瓜
huapao 花炮
huaquan 花圈
huayan, huayuan 花园
huer, hou'er 猴儿
Hui 回
huise 灰色
Hulijia 胡李家
huma 胡麻, flax
huoli 伙里
huoxi, hexi 贺喜
Huozhou Didi, Hezhou Didi 河州帝帝 (二郎神)
Huzhu 互助
jia 假
Jiangmajia 蒋麻家
jiangyou 酱油
jiaojie 交界
jiaozi 椒子, Sichuan pepper 花椒
jiazhi 价值
jibei, jibai 几百

jidian 几点
jiedi, jiede 接的
jiefu 姐夫
jiejie 姐姐
jieshao 介绍
jige 几个
Jijia 吉家
jin 金
Jing Xigua 敬西瓜
jinian 几年
jinji shibao, peacock; jinji 锦鸡
jinji 锦鸡
jinlong dian 金龙殿
jintu yintu 金土银土
jinwa yinwa 金瓦银瓦
jinyuer 金鱼儿
jinzi meigong 金子媒公
Jishi Bu 积石堡
Jishishan 积石山
jiu 就
jiuger, jiugang 酒缸
jiuqu 酒曲
jixiang ruyi 吉祥如意
jiying 鸡鹰
jizhong 几种
jue qing shou kuai, jiao qing shou kuai 脚轻手快
juhua 菊花
junzi meigong 君子媒公
kaishui 开水
kang 炕
kangkui, kanggui 炕柜
kangweizi 炕围子
Kansu, Gansu 甘肃
ke 壳
keneng 可能
kong huai chuqi, kong huai chuqu 空怀出去
kongshan 空山
koushe shihui, koushe shifei 口舌是非
kouzi 扣子
Ku Luozang 库罗藏
Ku Yingchunlan 库英春兰
ku 苦
Kuaishou 快手
kuicheng, guicheng 规程, etiquette/custom/tradition
kuqiao 苦荞
la 辣
Lajia 喇家
lajiu, lajiao 辣椒
lancao 兰草
laochu, laoshu 老鼠
laohan 老汉
laohu 老虎
laohumer, laohumao 老虎帽
laomei 老媒, matchmaker
laoshi 老实
laoshu 老鼠
laoye 老爷
Laozhuang 老庄
Li 礼(县)
li 里
lian 莲
liang 量
liangbian 两边
liangge 两个
liangtian 两天
liangwan 两万
liangzhang 两张
lianhua 莲花
Linjinju 临津居

Lintan 临潭
Linxia 临夏
linzi 檩子
liu 六
Liuhua Ayi 六花阿姨
liulang 六郎 (星)
liushu 柳树
liusui 六岁
long 龙
Longnan 陇南
longwang 龙王
luojing 罗镜
luotuo 骆驼
luzi 炉子
Lü Chongde 吕崇德
Lü Gongye 吕贡爷
Lü Jianfu 吕建福
Lü Yingqing 吕莺卿
Lüjia Hangtou, Lüjia Hangdao 吕家巷道
Lüjia 吕家
Ma Yingcaihua 马英彩花
Ma Yingtao 马樱桃
ma 嘛
ma 马
Majia 马家
mama 妈妈
man huai jinlai 满怀进来
man 满
Manping 满坪
manteng, mentou 馒头
mantian yin 满天荫
maobi 毛笔
Maojia Si 毛家寺/茂家寺
maotouying 猫头鹰
mei 每
Meiguo 美国
meihua 梅花
meimao 眉毛
men 门
Mengda Tianchi 孟达天池
menlou'er 门楼儿
miao 庙
miaoshen 庙神
Ming 明 (朝)
Mingchao 明朝
Minhe 民和
Minzhu Gou 民主沟
minzhu 民主
minzu 民族
moshengren 陌生人
mu 亩
mudan 牡丹
mujiang 木匠
na 拿
Nai Si, Ya Si 崖寺
Nai'er Si, Ya'er Si 崖儿寺
nainai 奶奶
nan bange 南半个
Nan Wangbaoyuan, An Wangbaoyuan 安王宝元
Nandou 南斗
nanguo 难过
Nanjia, Anjia 安家
Neimenggu 内蒙古
ni, nü 女
nian 年
nian 念
niangjia 娘家
Niangniang Ye 娘娘爷
nianji 年纪
nianjiangui, yanjiangui 眼见鬼
niannian 年年

Nongchang 农场
nuanguo 暖锅
nuer, nao'er 淖尔, lake
Paijia, Baijia 白家
paolu 狍鹿, sika deer
paozher 炮仗
pianbaozi, qianbaozi 钱包子
pingguo 苹果
pingnan jing, ping'an jing 平安经
Pinyin 拼音
popan 破盘
pu 铺
putao 葡萄
qian 前
qiancai 钱财
Qianhe 前河
qianliang 钱粮
qianyan, qianyuan 前院
qiao 桥
qier, qian 钱
qiezi 茄子
Qijia 祁家
qin shang jia qin 亲上加亲
Qing 清 (朝)
qing 轻
qingdao 请到
Qinghai sheng bianji zu 青海省编辑组
Qinghai 青海
qingjia 亲家
qingkuang 情况
qingkuo, qingke 青稞
Qingming 清明
Qingshui 清水
Qinjia Dayuan 秦家大院
Qinjia 秦家
qinqi 亲戚
qinsai, qincai 芹菜
qinzi, jinzi 妗子 (舅妈)
qishi 七十
qixing 七星
queding 确定
ren 人
Renjia 任家
renminbi 人民币
ri 日
sa zai 撒在
saigua, caigua 菜瓜
Salar 撒拉尔, Sala 撒拉 (族)
Sama Bu 撒马堡
san 三
Sanchuan Wowar, Sanchuan Wowo 三川窝窝
Sanchuan 三川
San'erjia 三二家
Sanfang 三房
sange 三个
sanwan 三万
saodi, caodi 草地
shadeng 纱灯
shan 山
Shancheng Miao 山城庙
shandan 苫单
Shang Majia 上马家
shang 上
Shangchuan 上川
shangma 上马
shangxi 上席
shanye, shanyao 山药, potato
shanzi 扇子
shazi 沙子
she 社
shen 深

shen 肾
sheng 省
Shengbidebao 圣彼得堡
shengtai yuan 生态园
shengyin 声音
shengzi 升子
Shenxian Nuer, Shenxian Nao 神仙淖 (孟达天池)
shenxian 神仙
shenzhu 神主
shi 是
shidaomian 十刀面
shidaomian 试刀面
shi'er 十二
shijie 时节
shilier, shiliu 石榴
shiquan 十全
shiwu 十五
Shiyuan 石塬
shizi 狮子
Shou Bu 首堡
shou 寿
shou 手
shouji 手机
shoujin 手巾
shouke 收客
shouru 收入
shouxi 首席
shu 书
shuangxi 双喜
shushu 叔叔
si panzi 四盘子
si 四
Sifang 四房
sige 四个
Silang Ye 四郎爷
sishi 四十
sixi, cixi 次席
songbeishu, songbaishu 松柏树
songdao 送到
Songjia 宋家
songqin 送亲
songshu 松树
songyer, congyer 葱叶儿
su 素
suan 酸
suchang 素常
sunzi 孙子
suokou 锁扣
suoyou 所有
ta 她
Taiken, Taigen 台根
taiping 太平
taitai 太太
taiye 太爷
tao 桃
Taochow, Taozhou 洮州
tedian 特点
tian 甜
Tianjie, Tianjia 田家
Tianjin Dafa 天津大发
Tianjin Huali 天津华利
tianxia 天下
tianxia'er, tianxia 天下
Tianzhu 天祝
tiao 挑
tiaohuo 调和 (调料)
tixuan 提悬
tong 铜
tou yiming 头一名
toujin 头巾
Tu Ren 土人
Tu Yu 土语

Tu Zu 土族
Tu 土
Tuhua 土话
tuipa 推耙
Tujia 土家 (族)
tujiu 秃鹫
Tumin 土民
Tuyu 土语
Tuzu 土族
waisheng 外甥
Wang Dongmeihua 王冬梅花
Wang Fulian 王福莲
Wang Shulan 王淑兰
Wang Tingying 王庭英
Wang Xianzhen 王献珍
Wangjia 王家
wangshang 往上
Wangshigou 王石沟
wangxia 往下
Wanli 万历
wansui ye 万岁爷
wanwan nian 万万年
wanzhang 万丈
Wanzong Baofo Si 万宗宝佛寺
wei 胃
weinainai, wainainai 外奶奶
weitaitai, waitaitai 外太太
weitaiye, waitaiye 外太爷
weiye, waiye 外爷
Wen Jinde 文进德
Wen Lan 文兰
Wen Xiangcheng 文祥呈
Wen Xiangxiao 文相孝
Wen Xiulin 文秀林
Wen Xueguihua 文雪桂花
Wen Xuezhong 文学忠
Wen Yinxian 文隐仙
Wen Zhaxi 文扎西
Wen Zhongxiang 文忠祥
Wenjia 文家
wenwudi, wenwude 文武的
wogua 倭瓜
Wudabu 五大堡
wugu 五谷
Wushi Zhihe Gongqin Xiazhi Qunke Lin 梧石智合贡钦夏智群科林，意为“梧石崖尔大讲修法轮洲”
Wushi 梧释
Wuyan de niujiaohao 呜咽的牛角号
Wuyue Dangwu, Wuyue Duanwu 五月端午
Wuyue 五月
Wuzhangjia 吴张家
xi 席
xia 下
xia 夏
xiabier mujiang, xiabian mujiang 下边木匠
xiabier, xiabian 下边
Xiakou 峡口
xian 县
xiang 想
xiangxi 详细
xiangzi 箱子
xianhe 仙鹤
xianhua'er 鲜花儿
xianliang 贤良
xianren 先人
xianshu (圣) 贤书
xianyan 鲜艳
xiaohu 小户
xiaojiao 小脚

Xiaolijia 小李家
xiaomi 小米
Xiejia 谢家
xiejiu 谢酒
xiejiu 谢舅
xieniang 谢娘
xiezi 楔子
xigua 西瓜
xihongshi 西红柿
xin 心
Xing'er 杏儿
Xingyu Jiayuan 杏雨家园
Xining 西宁
Xinjia 辛家
Xinjiang 新疆
xinren sha 新人煞
xinyang 信仰
xiongmao 熊猫
xiu 锈
xiudi, xiude 修的
xiusai, xiucai 秀才
Xizang 西藏
xuan 选
xuanhuer, xuanfeng 旋风
Xuantong 宣统
xuehua'er 雪花儿
xuetang 学堂
xuexiao 学校
Xunhua 循化
ya 呀
yan 烟
yang cong 洋葱
yang dingzi 洋钉子
Yang Haishen 杨海深
yang hui 洋灰
yang huo 洋火
Yang Luozang 杨罗藏
Yang Qingkui 杨庆魁
yang tang 洋糖
yang zhentou 洋枕头
Yangjia 杨家
yangshi 阳世
yangsong, yang cong 洋葱
yangyang 样样
yangzi 样子
yanjiu 研究
yanshui, yanse 颜色
yantai 砚台
Yanwang Ye 阎王爷
yanzi 燕子
yao 要
ye 也
ye 爷
yeshi 也是
Yesujiao 耶稣教
yeye 爷爷
yeyer 叶叶儿
yi 一
Yi 彝 (族)
yibazi 一把子
yibei 一杯
yibei 一辈
yiben 一本
yidai 一代
yidai 一带
yidui 一对
yige 一个
yihou 以后
yijing 已经
yikuer 一块儿
yikuo, yike 一棵
yin 银
yinban 印板
ying 鹰

yingxiang 影响
Yingyu 英语
yinwei 因为
yinyang 阴阳
yiqian 以前
yisi 意思
yitang 一趟
yitian 一天
yixier 一些儿
yizhi 一直
yizhong 一盅
yizhong 一种
yizi 衣子
yo 哟
you 右
youhudi, youfude 有福的
Youning 佑宁 (寺)
youtou 有头
youxier 有些儿
youxier, yuqian'er 榆钱儿
youyu 有余
Yuanchao 元朝
yuanlai 原来
yuanyang 鸳鸯
yuanyin 原因
yue 越
yueji 月季
Yugur, Yugu 裕固 (族)
Yujia 余家
yushu 榆树
zai 再
zai 在
zai 栽
zailiao, zaile 栽了
zandan 栴檀, 旃檀
zaohang, zaofang 灶房
zer, zan 簪
zha zai 扎在
Zhaizi 寨子
Zhang Chengzhi 张成志
Zhang Jinhua 张金花
Zhang Jinlian 张金莲
zhang 掌
zhangguidi, zhangguide 掌柜的
Zhangjia 张家
Zhaohua Bu 赵化堡
Zhaohua Shancheng Bu 赵化山城堡
zhaokan 照看
Zhaomuchuan 赵木川
zhaoxiang 照相
Zhaxi Gadan De'erji Lin 扎西噶丹德儿吉林，意为“吉祥具喜福乐洲”
Zhaxi Qiongpeilin, 扎西琼佩林，意为“吉祥宏法洲”
zhe 着
zhen 真
zhen 镇
zhencher, zhencha 针插, pincushion
zheng 挣
zheng 正
zhenggong 正宫
Zhengyue Shiwu 正月十五
Zhengyue 正月
zhijie 直接
zhisuo, zhicuo 纸锉
zhizi 枝子
zhong 中
zhong 盅
Zhongchuan 中川
Zhongguo 中国

zhounian 周年
Zhu Lanxiang 朱兰香
Zhuang Xueben 庄学本
Zhuang 壮 (族)
zhuangnongren 庄农人
zhuangyuan 状元
zhuanjia 专家
Zhujia Bahu 朱家八户, Eight Clans of Zhujia Village
Zhujia 朱家
Zhujiacher, Zhujiacheng 朱家城
ziliao 资料
zise 紫色
ziyuan 自愿
zizhu 自主
zongdi, zongde 总的
zongna 总拿
zouliao, zoule 走了
zui 最
zuo 左
zuodeng 坐凳
zuodi, zuode 坐的
zuoliao, zuole 做了
zuoyi 作揖

TIBETAN TERMS

alabala, alapala ཨ་ལ་བ་ལ།

anamana, anamana ཨ་ན་མ་ན།

aolai, 'o los འོ་ལོས།

benba, bum pa བུམ་པ།

benbuzi, bon po བོན་པོ།

Cairang, tshe ring ཚེ་རིང་།

dalai, Ta la'i ཏཱ་ལའི།

Danzeng, bstan 'dzin བསྟན་འཛིན།

dmag sgar དམག་སྒར

dpal ldan bkra shis དཔལ་ལྡན་བཀྲ་ཤིས།

Gelugpa, dge lugs pa དགེ་ལུགས་པ་།

gexi/geshe, dge bshes དགེ་བཤེས།

Hareihurei, ha le ho le ཧ་ལེ་ཧོ་ལེ།

lha ba ལྷ་བ།

Luozang, blo bzang བློ་བཟང་།

manba, sman pa སྨན་པ།

mani, ma Ni མ་ཎི།

Narwu, nor bu ནོར་བུ།

shigheba, shug pa ཤུག་པ།

skal bzang nor bu སྐལ་བཟང་ནོར་བུ།

Suonam, bsod nams བསོད་ནམས།

yingdamenda, yin da min da ཡིན་ད་མིན་དུ།

zandan, tsan dan ཙན་དན།

zangwu, bzang bo' བཟང་པོ་ good/nice

Zhaxi, bkra shis བཀྲ་ཤིས།

ziger, sgar སྒར